Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library
BS1505 .K5
Kirkpatrick, A. F. (Alexander FraMAIN
The doctrine of the prophets : the Warbu
3 9967 00113 6162

LIBRARY
of the
Theological Seminary
of the
Evangelical Lutheran Church
AT CHICAGO
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

Division

Class

8308

Shelf

Ac. Vol. 17778

LIBRARY
CHICAGO LUTHERAN SEMINARY
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

LIBRARY
CHICAGO LUTHERAN SEMINARY
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS

Ea loquuntur Prophetae Dei quae audiunt ab eo, nihilque aliud est Propheta Dei, nisi enuntiator verborum Dei hominibus.

Quid ergo? cum legimus, obliviscimur quemadmodum loqui soleamus? An Scriptura Dei aliter nobiscum fuerat quam nostro more locutura?

S. Augustinus.

19720

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS

THE WARBURTONIAN LECTURES

FOR 1886–1890

BY

A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.

MASTER OF SELWYN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE
CANON OF ELY CATHEDRAL, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN
TO THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

THIRD EDITION

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1901

All rights reserved

First Edition 1892.
Second Edition 1897.
Third Edition 1901

TO THE

REVEREND ARTHUR GRAY BUTLER, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND FIRST HEAD MASTER OF HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.
THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED BY HIS OLD PUPIL,
AS A SLIGHT TRIBUTE OF REGARD AND AFFECTION,
AND IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF
STIMULATIVE TEACHING, WISE COUNSEL,
AND UNVARYING KINDNESS,
MDCCCLXIII—MDCCCLXVII.

✠

Sursum Corda.

✠

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This volume contains the Lectures delivered upon the foundation of Bishop Warburton in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn during the years 1886-1890, by the kind permission of the Benchers given in accordance with the desire of the Founder. The original Lectures have been in some cases re-written and expanded, and the series has been completed by the addition of Lectures not actually delivered. But it has seemed best to allow the book to retain the style and character given to it by the circumstances of its origin, rather than to recast it into a more formal shape. I had at one time intended to add some critical and exegetical notes to the Lectures; but with a few exceptions this plan has been abandoned, partly because the volume had already grown to its full limits, and partly because I now hope that, for a portion of the field traversed, such notes may find a more suitable resting-place elsewhere.

I desire to acknowledge most fully my obligations, direct and indirect, to the many authors whose works have been consulted during a long course of study. These Lectures lay no claim to originality, save in so far as I have endeavoured to make the statements contained in them my own by careful study of the prophetic writings themselves, with all the helps at my disposal so far as time allowed. But no critic can well be more sensible of the many defects of the volume than its author. He lays down his pen with the consciousness that the words of the son of Sirach, applied by St. Augustine to the study of the Psalter, are even more applicable to the study of the Prophets. *When a man hath done, then he beginneth, and when he leaveth off, then he shall be doubtful.*[1]

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that reference is throughout intended to be made to the Revised Version. In some cases, where the difference of rendering is important, I have called attention to it by adding *R.V.* to the reference. In actual quotations I have not scrupled to introduce fresh renderings where it seemed possible to express the meaning of the original more closely. I have, as a

[1] Ecclesiasticus xviii. 7.

rule, restored JEHOVAH in place of LORD or GOD, which, in accordance with the Jewish tradition, our Versions generally substitute for the Sacred Name. The pronunciation of that Name as JEHOVAH, although not philologically defensible, is so far naturalised in our language that it cannot easily be displaced in favour of the presumably correct pronunciation *Yahweh*. But the correct pronunciation is a matter of small importance, compared with the recognition that it is a proper name, the summary expression of God's revelation of Himself to Israel.

The object of these Lectures is to give some account of the work of the Prophets in relation to their own times; to shew, letting each of them, as far as possible, speak for himself, the contribution made by each to the progress of revelation; to point out the unity in variety, and variety in unity, of their teaching, testifying alike to the one divine Source from which their inspiration was derived, and to the diversity in the human instruments through which He willed to communicate His message. It may seem to some that the human, personal, circumstantial elements of prophecy have been unduly exaggerated, but I have desired always

to remember that while "Scripture speaks to men in their own language," [1] the "prophets of God speak what they hear from Him, and the prophet of God is nothing else but the enunciator of the words of God to men." [2]

It may seem further that, especially in view of the purpose of the Warburtonian Lecture as defined by its Founder, I have devoted too little attention to the consideration of special fulfilments of Prophecy. But if it be true, as I have lately endeavoured to shew elsewhere,[3] that the evidential value of the Old Testament to the mind of the present day rests not merely or mainly on the fulfilment of specific and circumstantial prophecies, but on the whole drift and tendency of a manifold and complex preparation, in history, in life, in thought, pointing to an end which it foreshadowed, but could not describe, for which it prepared, but which it could not produce, then the attempt to exhibit the distinctive characteristics of the teaching of the Prophets in relation to their own times may legitimately be regarded as a contribution towards the elucidation of the evidential value of the Old Testament. It

[1] Cp. St. Aug. *c. Faustum*, xxxiii. 7.

[2] St. Aug. *Quaest. in Exod.* c. 17.

[3] In a paper on *The Evidential Value of the Old Testament*, read at the Church Congress at Folkestone, 1892.

was the function of the Prophets to prepare for the coming of Christ not less than to predict it; and nothing can produce a firmer conviction of their divine mission, than the consideration of the way in which they were raised up from time to time to meet the actual needs of great crises in the history of Israel, as well as to point forward to the great purpose of the ages. If thereby we gain an increased conviction of the *naturalness* of Prophecy, we gain at the same time an increasing conviction of its *supernaturalness*. Adaptation not less than marvel is a characteristic of divine working; and it is by studying the ways of God in history that we come to recognise His footprints.

It has been said by an acute observer of movements of theological thought and Biblical study, that "the full rediscovering and full appropriating of the Old Testament are the special problem of our own day. . . . The fashioning of the methods by which the secret of the Old Testament is to be approached and elicited has taken many centuries. We are not yet agreed about it; but I do not think that it is being too sanguine to feel that we are drawing nearer to it. We are beginning to feel the warmth and the life and the reality come back to those pale and shadowy figures. Isaiah and Hosea and

Jeremiah no longer walk in a *limbus Patrum*, but we see them as they were among the forces by which they were actually surrounded. We see what they were as men ; we see what they were as exponents of a message from God; we see the grand and glorious ideas which stirred within them in all their richness and fulness, conditioned, yet not wholly conditioned, by the world of thought and action in which they moved. We see these ideas linking themselves together, stretching hands as it were across the ages, the root-principles of the Old Testament running on into the New, and there attaining developments which may have been present to the Divine Mind—though they cannot have been present to the human instruments whose words went and came at its prompting." [1]

The words are bold; but at least they express the aim and desire of those who, while they advocate the most searching critical and historical study of the Old Testament, retain a firm belief that it is the inspired record of a unique divine revelation to the world. The interpretation of the Bible is not stationary but progressive. As successive centuries contributed to the construction of the Divine Library, so successive centuries must contribute to

[1] Sanday, *The Oracles of God*, pp. 118, 120.

its interpretation. It must not be supposed that modern students of the Old Testament wish to depreciate the students of past generations, or to regard their own work as final. The answer of Jerome to the charges of innovation so fiercely hurled at him will be theirs. *Quid igitur? damnamus veteres? minime: sed post priorum studia in domo Domini quid possumus laboramus.*[1]

"It is no less true now than ever it has been, that the surest means of religious advance is to be sought in renewed study of the Bible. What we need especially at this moment is *freshness,* a real getting at the heart of the matter instead of dallying with the outside. And I question if we shall get this in any better way than by approaching our task under the guidance of Criticism and History—of Criticism and History not, as too often, dissevered from, but united with, Religion." [2]

May these Lectures offer some help towards such a more real understanding of the Prophets; and better still, may they direct their readers, if they shall find any, to such a diligent and attentive study of the Prophetic Books themselves, that, in the words of

[1] *Prologus in Genesin* (Tom. ix, p. 6).
[2] Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 126.

Origen, they may feel, as they read, the traces of their inspiration, and gain a firmer conviction that they are in very truth no mere writings of men, but the words of God.

CAMBRIDGE,
November 15, 1892.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The present edition of this book does not differ substantially from the first, though it has been revised in detail throughout. In thus re-issuing the book without material change, I may seem to be disregarding the various criticisms which it has received. For the generally friendly tone of those criticisms I am deeply grateful, and I am by no means insensible to the force of many of them. But a work of this nature deals with many questions upon which difference of opinion is inevitable; and its limits compel the slight treatment or entire omission of many topics which are undoubtedly important, and may to some seem indispensable for the proper treatment of the subject. It is possible that fresh study of disputed problems may lead to change of judgement, but the four years which have elapsed since the first publication of the book have been so fully occupied with other work that I have had no leisure for such a thorough re-examination of

the wide field covered in these lectures as could alone justify me in abandoning opinions which were not hastily formed. I have reason to believe that, in spite of its many defects, the book has been found helpful, and I trust that it may continue to be of service, as an introduction to the study of the Prophets of Israel. Through their words God still reveals Himself to us as the All-Sovereign Ruler of the world, Who slowly yet surely carries His purposes onward to their fulfilment. As we ponder reverently on the marvellous patience and manifold wisdom of the methods by which from age to age He prepared the way for the supreme revelation of the Incarnation, faith is strengthened to believe that profound mystery; strengthened too to believe that with equally marvellous patience and manifold wisdom, He is even now from age to age carrying forward to its complete accomplishment all that the Incarnation implies for the whole of humanity.

CAMBRIDGE,
January 22, 1897.

BS1505
K5
1901

CONTENTS

LECTURE I

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 3

LECTURE II

OBADIAH 33

LECTURE III

JOEL 46

LECTURE IV

AMOS 83

LECTURE V

HOSEA 109

LECTURE VI

ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOZ 143

8308

LECTURE VII

PAGE

MICAH 205

LECTURE VIII

NAHUM 239

LECTURE IX

ZEPHANIAH 258

LECTURE X

HABAKKUK 269

LECTURE XI

JEREMIAH 291

LECTURE XII

EZEKIEL 326

LECTURE XIII

ISAIAH OF THE EXILE 353

LECTURE XIV

HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH 413

LECTURE XV

ZECHARIAH IX–XIV 442

LECTURE XVI

PAGE

Isaiah xxiv–xxvii 479

LECTURE XVII

Malachi 494

LECTURE XVIII

Christ the Goal of Prophecy 517

Chronological Table 532

Index of some Passages commented on . 539

General Index 541

INTRODUCTION

οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ Ἰουδαίους μόνους οἱ προφῆται ἐπέμποντο . . . πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν διδασκάλιον ἱερὸν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πολιτείας.

For, indeed, it was not for the sake of the Jews alone that the prophets were sent . . . but for the whole world they were a sacred school of knowledge concerning God and of spiritual life.

S. Athanasius.

LECTURE I

INTRODUCTION

God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son.—Hebrews i. 1, 2.

I

Connexion and contrast of the Jewish and Christian dispensations.

The opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews affirm the connexion, while they contrast the character, of the Jewish and the Christian dispensations. It was the same God who spoke in both, though the mode and the instruments of His communication with men in the two periods were widely different. *Of old time*, in the long period which preceded the Incarnation, He spoke to the fathers *in the prophets*. The voices of that long succession of men whom He raised up from time to time through a period of more than a thousand years were the voice of God. In them He spoke *by divers portions and in divers manners;* or, as the inimitable words of the original[1] may be otherwise rendered, *in many*

[1] πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως.

fragments and in many fashions. The revelation was diversified, fragmentary, imperfect; here a little and there a little, line upon line, and precept upon precept, as men needed and as they were able to bear it. But in these latter days He has spoken to us *in a Son.*[1] Unity is contrasted with variety. In Him the many partial and fragmentary utterances are reconciled and united. He is the one supreme and final revelation of God. The Messenger is Himself the message. The whole of the New Testament is the delineation and interpretation of His Person and His Work.

The one a preparation for the other.

There was an intimate and organic connexion between the two revelations. *God, having spoken in the prophets . . . spoke in His Son.* The first revelation was the necessary preparation for the second. The second revelation was the fore-ordained sequel of the first. This is not the peculiar doctrine of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is the unanimous teaching of the whole New Testament. Our Lord Himself repeatedly declared that the old dispensation looked forward to Him. Evangelists and Apostles were but following His example when they taught that in all its parts it was the manifold preparation for His Coming. If the Incarnation is indeed a fact, if God has indeed spoken to us in His Son, if the New Testament is in any degree a faithful

[1] This is the literal rendering of the Greek, in which the pronoun *His* is not expressed. It lays stress on the nature and quality of Christ, not upon His personality. The one who is a son is contrasted with the many who were servants.

record of His teaching and of the teaching of those who received their instruction from His lips, then the divine choice of the nation of Israel to be the object of a special discipline and the recipient of an unique revelation cannot possibly be called in question. The view which regards the religion of Israel as only "one of the principal religions of the world," maintaining that between it and all the other forms of religion "there exists no specific difference,"[1] is, to the believing Christian, absolutely untenable. For it assumes that all religions alike are but "so many manifestations of the religious spirit of mankind," and that there is no such thing as a special divine revelation. Let us fully admit that God *left not Himself without witness* among the heathen nations of antiquity; that many strivings, and very noble strivings, after truth are to be found in other religions than that of Israel; that these too in their appointed way formed part of the divine preparation for the Incarnation; yet from the Christian point of view it is impossible to class them together. Christianity stands apart from all other religions as the final revelation of God to man, and the religion of Israel stands apart from all other pre-Christian religions as the special preparation for that unique event which is the fundamental fact of Christianity.

The O.T. the inspired record of this preparation.

The nation of Israel was the organ of a special divine revelation, and the Old Testament is the

[1] Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, E.T., vol. i, p. 5.

divinely ordered record of that revelation. It can only be rightly understood when it is studied in the light of this specific purpose. Viewed as a history of the nation of Israel, it tantalises by its disappointing fragmentariness. It gives little or no account of many of the most important periods of national development. It affords little or no insight into many of the most instructive features of national life. Viewed as a literature, it is, as a whole, inferior to the literature of Greece and Rome. But when it is viewed as the record of the divine training of the nation which was chosen to be the recipient of a special revelation, its peculiar characteristics receive their explanation. When it is viewed as the record of the revelation made to Israel and through Israel, in itself preparatory and imperfect, but ever looking forward to some future fuller manifestation of God to men, ever yearning for a real 'fulfilment,' its many voices are found to combine in a true harmony. The Old Testament is unique as a national literature in virtue of the essential unity of spirit and purpose which characterises it notwithstanding the wide diversity of date and variety of form of its different elements; in virtue of the progressiveness with which its teaching advances, not indeed uniformly or without any check or retrogression, but in the main and on the whole, from an outward and material to an inward and spiritual conception of religion: in virtue of its steady outlook, in spite of

manifold disappointments, towards an age to come, which forms the goal of divine purpose for Israel and for the world. This unity, this progressiveness, this hope, are rightly regarded as marks of its divine origin, and proofs of the inspiration of its authors.

It was the office of Israel to prepare for Christ, and it is the function of the Old Testament to bear witness to Christ. But its message to the Christian Church is not exhausted in this its prophetic and propædeutic character. It is placed in the hands of the Christian Church as still *profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness.* It has an abiding moral and spiritual value. For us who read it with the light of fuller revelation reflected back upon it, it bears a larger and deeper sense than that which those to whom its words were originally addressed could possibly have recognised.

II

Present position of the argument from prophecy.

When this lecture was founded by Bishop Warburton more than a century ago,[1] with the object of elucidating the evidential value of prophecy, the argument from prophecy and the argument from miracles were regarded as two of the most convincing proofs of the truth of Christianity.[2] In the previous century Pascal could say, "La plus grande

[1] In 1768.

[2] See *e.g.* Butler's *Analogy*, Part ii, ch. vii.

des preuves de Jésus-Christ, ce sont les prophéties."[1] But in the present day miracles which were once appealed to as a ground of belief, are in many quarters treated as a hindrance to belief, while by many it is denied that there is any such clear correspondence between prophecy and its alleged fulfilment as to constitute a proof of the divine origin of Christianity.

It is not my purpose to discuss the causes of this change of view at length. Scientific research has "placed in a clearer light the symmetry and order of external nature, and invested the idea of law with an absolute majesty inconceivable at an earlier time." A naturalistic theory of the world banishes God from the pages of history. Historical criticism challenges the accuracy of ancient records. Deeply as the extreme results of these tendencies of modern thought are to be deplored, they have not been without a wholesome influence upon Christian thought. They have taught us to look for God's revelation of Himself in His ordinary not less than in His extraordinary modes of working. The fixed laws of Nature, unknown to an earlier age, are in a true sense *powers* which testify to the majesty of Him who established them and maintains them in operation. The phenomena of Nature are *signs* which manifest His glory to the eye of faith, and there is no other faculty but faith by which He can be seen. We have learnt to look for the proofs of God's shaping of the history of

[1] *Pensées*, ii. 11, 1.

the world in the continuous discipline in which we believe His hand can be traced, and in the progressive teaching which we believe reflects His mind, rather than in isolated interpositions and special predictions.

It cannot be denied that in former times a disproportionate value was attached to the arguments from miracles and prophecy, and that an undue stress was laid upon the least important aspects of them. The more astounding to the senses a miracle appeared to be, the more convincing an exhibition of divine omnipotence was it thought to offer. "The particular details, inaccessible by inference from general principles or other rational means, seemed to apologists of special importance in proving the supernatural origin of prophecy. The predictions of single incidental circumstances seemed the most striking."[1]

But now these arguments are recognised as taking a subordinate though real place among the evidences of Christianity, and the nature of their evidence has been placed in a truer light. Miracles are regarded as vehicles rather than as proofs of revelation; as the manifestation of a higher law, or the promise of the restoration of the true order which has been interrupted by sin. While circumstantial predictions are not to be denied, comparatively little stress is to be laid upon them. They cannot always be authenti-

[1] Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 27 (E.T.).

cated. For example, the prediction of a Josiah or a Cyrus by name centuries before they were born was at one time regarded as an irrefragable proof of the inspiration of the record. Such predictions would no doubt be a very remarkable proof that the prophets who delivered them were the agents of an omniscient Being, if we could be sure that they were really predictions. But the Book of Kings did not take its present form till after the reign of Josiah, and the name of Josiah may easily have been an addition to the original narrative; while many arguments combine to prove that the later chapters of the Book of Isaiah were not written until the lifetime of Cyrus.

But even when circumstantial predictions can be authenticated, they cannot be held to possess the importance which was once attached to them. Isolated predictions of this kind give little information as to the character and purposes of God. They may serve to attract attention and appeal to the temper of mind which seeks for a sign, but they will not satisfy the more thoughtful student. For him the contemplation of the wider characteristics of prophecy as a whole will furnish a more solid if less startling proof of its divine origin.

The 'argument from prophecy' must be based upon the broadest possible foundation. Appeal must be made to the whole of the Old Testament as the record of the preparation for Christ's coming. For

as it has well been said, the Old Testament does not merely contain prophecies, but is in itself throughout a prophecy. And in dealing with those parts of the Old Testament which contain the teaching of the prophets, appeal must be made not to the predictive elements of prophecy only, but to the work of the prophets as a whole. That work must be regarded in its entirety as one great factor in God's revelation of Himself to Israel, preparing the way for the fuller revelation to come, not less than as the fore-announcement of His purpose to make that revelation, and of the mode in which it was to be made. We shall claim to find in Christ, not the fulfilment of the predictions of the prophets only, but the consummation and realisation of the whole of their teaching. In the harmony of the two revelations we shall hear the voice of God speaking to men, not the voices of men striving to express their aspirations after God. The prophecies are not human ideals, but divine ideas.

But the argument is only one among many arguments for the truth of Christianity; and it is more properly addressed to believers for the support and confirmation of their faith than to unbelievers for the removal of their doubts. What has been said of miracles is true of prophecy. It "belongs properly to the believer and not to the doubter. It is a treasure rather than a bulwark. It is in its inmost sense instruction, and not evidence."[1]

[1] Bishop Westcott, *Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles*, p. 7.

III

Gains from hostile criticism.

Christian students of the Old Testament, who start from the premiss that it is the divinely inspired record of a divinely ordered preparation for a divinely purposed end, and who retain their belief that the Holy Ghost "spake by the prophets," need not hesitate to acknowledge that they owe a debt to hostile criticism. There are three points in particular in which they have made a decided advance in recent years towards the general adoption of sounder methods of interpretation, and the use of safer if less startling arguments. They have learnt to study the Old Testament critically and historically; to take account of a wider view of prophecy; to offer a more reasonable conception of the fulfilment of prophecy.

1. Christian students have come to recognise that the Old Testament must be studied critically and historically. It is their duty to examine, frankly and fearlessly, all that can be ascertained with regard to the origin and date of the several books, the genuineness of the text, the character of the record, and all the problems which necessarily arise in the examination and interpretation of ancient documents. They will not dissect the volume with irreverent hands as though anxious to demonstrate that it never had or could have a living unity, but they will seek to exhibit more fully the nature and the correlation of the complex parts which constitute

the organism in which the life is manifested. It is no less their duty to study the Old Testament historically; to endeavour to realise the relation of each book to the conditions and ideas of the age in which it was produced, and to the whole history and revelation of which it forms a part. This is especially important in the study of the prophets. The Prophecies of the Old Testament, like the Epistles of the New Testament, had what may be called a circumstantial origin. Each prophecy, as a rule, bears the stamp of its own age; it is couched in the terms of its own particular epoch; it is shaped to meet the special needs of those to whom it was first addressed; it bears the impress of the character and the training of the individual through whom it was given.

> For every fiery prophet in old times,
> And all the sacred madness of the bard,
> When God made music thro' them, could but speak
> His music by the framework and the chord.[1]

2. Christian students have learnt to take a larger view of the prophet's work. The prophet was not merely, I might even say he was not chiefly, a predictor. He was not so much a foreteller as a forthteller. Insight not less than foresight was the gift of the seer. The precise original meaning of the Hebrew word for prophet is much disputed, but

[1] Tennyson, *The Holy Grail*, p. 85.

certainly it does not in itself contain the idea of prediction. In usage it denotes one who is the spokesman or interpreter of God to men,[1] one who is the medium through which divine revelations are conveyed, rather than one who is endowed with the power of foreknowledge, though this may be one of his gifts.

The prophet's work concerned the past, the present, and the future. The prophets were the historians of Israel.[2] They regarded the history of the nation from a religious standpoint. They traced the direct control of Jehovah over the fortunes of His people, in mercy and in judgement. It was their function to record and interpret the lessons of the past for the warning and encouragement of the present and the future.

Their work was concerned with the present. They were preachers of righteousness. They summoned men to repentance, setting before them the goodness and the severity of God. The relation of Jehovah to His people, and the consequent duty of Jehovah's people to Him, side by side with the duty of man to his neighbour, arising out of that mutual relation-

[1] Comp. Exod. vii. 1: "See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet," with Exod. iv. 16: "He shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God."

[2] It will be remembered that the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are classed in the Jewish Canon as "the former prophets."

ship, were the constant themes of their teaching. It was their work to make known the Will of God, and to urge men to bring their lives into harmony with that Will. They were unceasingly engaged in advancing the knowledge of His character and requirements.

Yet none the less were they concerned with the future; and that not merely by way of general promises of reward and threatenings of punishment, but with the full conviction that they were the appointed heralds of the divine purpose for Israel, and through Israel for the world. The manifestation of salvation in the fullest sense; the advent of Jehovah Himself to be the Redeemer of His people; the establishment of His kingdom upon earth: these were the lofty hopes which they were commissioned to proclaim. And it was their task not only to announce the divine purpose, but to prepare the way for its realisation.

3. Christian students have learnt a truer conception of what is meant by the fulfilment of prophecy. Prophecy and fulfilment were once supposed to be related as the reflection in a mirror to the object reflected. The complete course of future events was thought to have been mapped out in a way intelligible to the prophet and his contemporaries. Prophecy was considered as being throughout "inverted history." Even Bishop Butler could say that "prophecy is nothing but the history of events before

they come to pass."[1] It was expected that the fulfilment would correspond exactly to the prediction. Many of the objections which have been levelled against the Christian view of the relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament rest in great measure upon the erroneous assumption that this mechanical view of prophecy and fulfilment is what the defenders of the faith are pledged to maintain.

But fulfilment is related to prophecy rather as the plant with all its beauty of leaf and flower and fruit is related to the seed from which it has sprung. The connexion can be traced: the microscope can detect the parts of the future plant wrapped up in the envelope of the seed; but it could not foretell, apart from experience, what the full growth will bring, or how the minute and colourless rudiments will develop into rich variety of form and colour. The envelope is necessary to contain and protect the germ; but it is not itself the life-principle of the future plant. And so, prophecy contains the germ which is to spring up in a new form in the fulfilment; the principle which will in due time receive its legitimate development. It is the outline which will be filled in and take definite shape. The inner idea, and not the form in which that idea is conveyed, is the essential part of a prophecy. The form in which the idea is embodied is largely human, determined by the conditions of the prophet's age and varying

[1] *Analogy*, Part ii, ch. vii.

from time to time accordingly. The fulfilment, which is the evolution of the essential idea, is greater than the prophecy. It drops the envelope which served to contain it. It grows up out of it. It unites elements which existed separately, the combination of which, apart from the fulfilment, could not have been foreseen. That it is a true realisation of what was fore-designed in the divine purpose, and foretold by inspired prophets, will be recognised without hesitation by the believer. It will not compel belief, any more than any other spiritual truth, but it will confirm belief.

IV

Scope and plan of these lectures.

I propose in this Course of Lectures to approach the prophecies of the Old Testament from the point of view of their delivery rather than of their fulfilment. I propose to limit the inquiry to the teaching of those prophets whose writings have come down to us. I do not propose to carry it further back into the age which preceded the age of written prophecy, or to continue it into New Testament times. I propose to examine the teaching of each prophet in relation to the circumstances and the needs of his own time; to endeavour to estimate the special contribution made by each to the progress of revelation and the development of the Messianic hope; to sketch out, so far as it may be possible to do so in a short compass, the doctrine of the prophets in its

historical development as the message of Jehovah to Israel in successive periods, and the preparation for the fuller revelation of the kingdom of God in Christ. The plan will involve some repetition. But it is worth while to treat each prophet separately, even at the expense of some repetition, if by so doing we may realise better the unity in variety which characterises their message. Each prophet has his own marked individuality of style, of thought, of teaching; but they all combine to promote one common end, the furtherance and the establishment of the kingdom of God. At the same time it is necessary to beware of generalising too rigidly, and "making particular prophets the exponents of merely a single conception," to the exclusion of "other conceptions, which, though less prominent, are present, either expressed or suggested. Broad distinctions are rare in the Old Testament. The course of revelation is like a river, which cannot be cut up into sections."[1]

V

The order of the prophets.

It will be convenient at once to take a rapid survey of the chronological order of the canonical prophets, distinguishing those whose dates are certain from those whose dates rest upon internal evidence, and can only be determined with more or less prob-

[1] A. B. Davidson in *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. vi, p. 163.

ability. Those of the former class may be arranged in three groups.

1. The prophets of the eighth century, or the Assyrian period (B.C. 760-700), in which Assyria first began seriously to interfere in the affairs of Palestine, and the kingdom of Israel finally succumbed to its power. To this period belong AMOS (*c.* 760) and HOSEA (*c.* 755-740), ISAIAH (*c.* 740-700) and MICAH (*c.* 735-725 ?). The two former exercised their ministry in Israel, and foretold the downfall of the Northern Kingdom; the two latter prophesied in Judah, in the momentous crisis when it seemed that it must share a similar fate.

2. The prophets of the seventh century, or the Chaldean period (B.C. 640-570), in which Babylon took the place of Nineveh as the mistress of the world, and Jerusalem fell before the Chaldean invader. First in this period comes NAHUM (*c.* 640 ?), who raises a triumphant pæan over the impending fall of Nineveh: next to him ZEPHANIAH (*c.* 630-622), with his message of the day of judgement at hand for Jerusalem: and after him HABAKKUK (*c.* 609-607), with his bold questionings of the ways of Providence. The long ministry of JEREMIAH (627-577), to whom was assigned the bitter task of delivering an unheeded message of admonition, and watching the agony of his nation's dissolution, covered the period in which the two last-named prophets flourished, and was continued for many years subsequently. Contem-

poraneously with the latter part of it EZEKIEL was prophesying to the exiles in Babylonia (592-570).

3. To the period after the Return from Babylon belong HAGGAI (520), ZECHARIAH (520-518), and MALACHI (*c.* 435 ?). The two former encouraged the fainting spirits of the returned exiles to rebuild the Temple; the latter probably supported the reforms of Nehemiah nearly a century later, and closed the series of canonical prophets.

With regard to the dates of these prophets there is but little variation of opinion. But where shall we place Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah xxiv-xxvii and xl-lxvi, Zechariah ix-xiv? Should OBADIAH be dated as early as the reign of Jehoram (B.C. 848-844); or shortly after the Fall of Jerusalem? Should JOEL be placed in the early part of the reign of Joash (B.C. 837-817), or in the period after the Return from Babylon? Not without some hesitation I have come to the conclusion that the evidence is in favour of the earlier dates, and treated these prophets as belonging to the pre-Assyrian period. That the Book of Consolation now attached to the Book of Isaiah (chaps. xl-lxvi) was the work not of Isaiah but (in the main at least) of a prophet or prophets towards the close of the Babylonian Exile seems to me a certain conclusion from internal evidence. The closing chapters of the Book of Zechariah present a difficult problem, but I am inclined to think that, although not the work of Zechariah, but of two other writers, they

stand in their right position among the post-exilic prophets, and in all probability belong to the period between Zechariah and Malachi. To the same period I am disposed to refer the remarkable prophecy in chapters xxiv-xxvii of the Book of Isaiah.

I have excluded the Book of Jonah and the Book of Daniel from consideration. The former is not the record of a prophet's teaching but the account of a prophet's work. Though it stands among the Twelve Minor Prophets it is wholly unlike the remaining eleven. It is emphatically, as a Jewish tradition calls it, "a book by itself,"[1] and important as are the lessons which it conveys, it has no claim to be included in a study of prophetic teaching. The Book of Daniel is not reckoned among the prophets in the Jewish Canon, and belongs to the study of apocalyptic rather than of prophetic literature. Some minor fragments embedded in larger books have also been passed over.

VI

The right of criticism.

In this sketch of the succession of the prophets the right of literary criticism to set aside the tradition of the Jewish Church concerning the authorship and date of books or portions of books has been assumed. A few words must be said in justification of that

[1] *Midrash Bemidbar* (c. 18), quoted in Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 194. See Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 451.

right.[1] The conclusions of criticism rest upon such grounds as those of historical allusions, literary style, characteristic doctrines. They are probable, not demonstrative, and in different cases reach very different degrees of probability. A prejudice is sometimes raised against the conclusions of criticism by the allegation that it springs ultimately from a desire to deny the predictive character of prophecy. It is possible that this may have been a motive with some of its advocates. But it is not so with others. They do not start with any theory of the impossibility of prediction. For them—to take a concrete example—the question with regard to the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah is not whether Isaiah could have uttered the predictions they contain, but whether the historical situation which they presume is that of Isaiah's lifetime; whether the style is such that these chapters can reasonably be supposed to have proceeded from the same pen as the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah; whether the characteristic doctrines differ from the doctrines of those prophecies in a way which can only be accounted for by a considerable interval of time, and the

[1] See further my *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, Lectures i and ii. It is perhaps worth while observing that the principle of literary criticism is fully admitted by one of my most distinguished predecessors in the Warburtonian Lectureship, whose orthodoxy has been generally regarded as unimpeachable; and its application to the later chapters of Zechariah is accepted as proving that they cannot be ascribed to Zechariah or his age. I refer to Davison, *On Prophecy*, pp. 277, 230 (ed. 1856).

occurrence in that interval of an unparalleled catastrophe.

It is sometimes urged that such questions ought to be regarded as settled by the authority of the New Testament. On this point I may be allowed to refer to what I have said elsewhere.[1] I can only repeat that it is difficult to see how our Lord and His Apostles (with reverence be it said) could have done otherwise than accept the current nomenclature of the time. The critical questions and the issues which they raise were not before them; and their acceptance of what was then universally believed cannot legitimately be held to preclude critical inquiry, any more than their acceptance of current ideas upon physical questions is regarded as a bar to scientific research.

VII

Character and arrangement of the prophetic books.

Two questions of no slight interest and importance arise in regard to the contents and arrangement of the prophetic books. They have an important bearing upon their interpretation, and a few general remarks must be made here, which will receive detailed illustration as we proceed. What is the character of the records of prophecy which have been preserved to us? and what is the principle upon which they have been arranged in the different books?

[1] *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, pp. 8 ff.

The answers to these questions will naturally vary in different cases. Some prophecies appear to have been committed immediately to writing without ever having been orally delivered. Other prophecies were first orally delivered and then committed to writing. Sometimes this was done by the prophet himself; sometimes little more than reminiscences preserved by the prophet's disciples appear to have come down to us.

In some cases a prophecy was committed to writing immediately after its delivery. In other cases a long period of oral teaching preceded the committal to writing, and we possess only a condensed report giving the substance of teaching spread over months or even years, and fusing together discourses delivered upon different occasions. A most instructive account of a prophet's method of working is preserved in the Book of Jeremiah (ch. xxxvi). He prophesied for more than twenty years before he committed anything to writing; and the roll which he then dictated to Baruch can obviously have contained only a summary of his teaching during that period. When he re-wrote it after its destruction by Jehoiakim, he made many additions to it, and this enlarged roll forms only the basis of our present book, which contains many later prophecies. Upon another occasion he received a command to commit a prophecy to writing without delay as a witness to future ages (xxx. 1 ff.).

It would vastly simplify the student's task if it could be assumed that the prophecies in each book were arranged in chronological order. But it is certain that this is not always the case. While the principle of arrangement is generally in the main chronological, this principle is to some extent traversed and obscured by arrangement according to subject-matter. Prophecies of cognate character in style or thought have been grouped together. In some instances collections of portions of the prophet's works, published by himself or his disciples, preceded the complete collection, and to some extent influenced its arrangement. Consequently we may have to turn to different parts of a book for illustration of the prophet's teaching in a particular period, and we cannot assume that the book as it stands will present his teaching in an orderly progress and development.

Thus a wide variety of possibilities with regard to the character and arrangement of the prophetic books must be constantly taken into account. And further, as has been already observed, some of the prophetic books undoubtedly contain prophecies by other prophets than those whose names they bear. But that they have been altered and interpolated to the extent which is maintained by some modern critics is wholly improbable, and the arguments by which these critics support their theories are often based upon unproved hypotheses, and are of an extremely arbitrary and subjective character.

VIII

Importance of the prophets in relation to modern theories.

The importance of the study of the prophets, and especially of the prophets of the earliest period, in relation to the questions which are now being debated with regard to the origin of the religion of Israel, can hardly be exaggerated. In Amos, Hosea, and the acknowledged parts of Isaiah, we are dealing with documents the age of which is not disputed. They occupy a position in the Old Testament analogous to the position which is occupied in the New Testament by the acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul. It is maintained by the school of critics which regards the religion of Israel as a natural development and not as a divine revelation, that the prophets of the eighth century were "the founders of ethical Monotheism," in other words that they were the first teachers of the moral character and requirements of Jehovah. The careful study of their writings affords the most convincing refutation of this theory. If anything is clear from their writings, it is that they do not regard themselves as innovators but as reformers. They are striving to recall the people to their allegiance to Jehovah, and to raise practice to the level of belief. The standard and the motive of right conduct is the knowledge of God, which the people might have possessed, but for their own carelessness and the neglect of their

teachers. Jehovah's word and His law have been declared to them; but they have despised His word and transgressed His law. These prophets are conscious of no discontinuity with the past. Amos speaks of the prophets who had preceded him, without any doubt that he is their legitimate successor. "The springs at least of all prophecy can be seen in the two prophets of northern Israel [Amos and Hosea]; but the rains which fed those fountains fell in the often unrecorded past."[1] The simple fact that Amos, who went from Judah to prophesy to Israel, and Hosea, who was a born Israelite, are agreed in the fundamental principles of their teaching, proves that the foundations of the religion of Israel were firmly established before the Division of the Kingdoms. Nor can there be any doubt to what period the prophets referred the origin of Israel's religion. It was to the Mosaic age, when Jehovah entered into covenant with the nation which He brought out of Egypt; though even in the patriarchal period He had revealed Himself to their ancestors.

But while on the one hand the earliest prophets bear testimony to the antiquity of Jehovah's revelation of Himself to Israel, on the other hand they cannot be held to afford proof of the existence of the Pentateuch in its present form. They do not appeal to a written law as the recognised standard of

[1] A. B. Davidson, *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. vi, p. 163.

conduct.[1] The 'law' or 'instruction' of Jehovah of which they speak is the equivalent of His 'word' (Isa. i. 10; ii. 3; v. 24). It is oral and not written. It deals with morality, not with ceremonial. No doubt a sacrificial system was in full operation. The prophets repeatedly condemn the popular idea that Jehovah could be propitiated by sacrifice without regard to the moral condition of the worshipper. Festivals such as the new moon and Sabbath were observed. There are allusions to the celebration of the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles. A body of priests existed whose duty it was not merely to maintain the established ritual of sacrifice, but to instruct the people in their religious duties. Not a few parallels to the language of Deuteronomy and even of the priestly legislation may be collected. But the whole drift of the teaching of the earlier prophets indicates that the law, both moral and ceremonial, was still in process of growth, and though portions of both the legal and the historical elements of the Hexateuch probably already existed in writing, other portions were still preserved by oral tradition. In fact we must think of 'the Law' and 'the Prophets' as concomitant rather than successive disciplines. Prophecy reached back to the foundation of the law; and the law went on growing

[1] No such phrase as "the book of the law" occurs in them. Hos. viii. 12 may imply the existence of written laws, but its meaning is uncertain.

side by side with prophecy. "It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel; and that he provided his people not only with at least the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances (such as would, in fact, arise directly out of his judicial functions, as described in Exod. xviii), but also (as the necessary correlative of the primary truth that *Jehovah was the God of Israel*) with some system of ceremonial observances, designed as the expression and concomitant of the religious and ethical duties involved in the people's relation to its national God." But "in process of time, as national life grew more complex, and fresh cases requiring to be dealt with arose," the original principles "would be found no longer to suffice, and their extension would become a necessity."[1] To the end, however, the law built up upon the Mosaic foundation remained the Mosaic law, and was revered as possessing the sanction of its founder's authority.

IX

Value of the historical method of studying the prophets.

The historical study of the prophets in relation to their own age may seem to some readers to be less fruitful and less necessary than the study of them in the light of their fulfilment. But I am confident

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., p. 152 f.

that there is no other method by which so firm a conviction can be gained that they were in very truth what they claimed to be, the inspired messengers of God; no better means by which an insight may be obtained into the variety and vitality of their message; no more certain way of attaining to an assurance that by their agency God was training His people for that greater revelation which was to be at once the consummation of the past and the starting-point of the future.

It has been well said that "at the present stage in the progress of religious thought we seem to need above all things to enter with a living sympathy into the whole teaching of the Bible, in its many parts and many forms; to realise with a historical, no less than with a spiritual insight, what lessons it conveys and in what shape; in order that so we may be trained to recognise and to interpret the fresh lessons which the One Spirit is offering to us in other ways."[1] Towards such a study of an important part of Holy Scripture it is the aim of these Lectures to offer some contribution however small.

[1] Bishop Westcott, *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*, p. xv.

PROPHETS OF THE NINTH CENTURY OR PRE-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

OBADIAH—JOEL

ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι τοῖς μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγχάνουσι τῇ ἐν αὐταῖς προγνώσει ἱκαναί μοι εἶναι δοκοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι τὸν συνετῶς ἅμα καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἀναγιγνώσκοντα ὅτι Θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις.

Moreover, if men study carefully the foreknowledge which they display, the prophecies seem to me sufficient to persuade him who reads them with intelligence and judgement that the Spirit of God was in those men.

ORIGENES.

LECTURE II

OBADIAH

The kingdom shall be Jehovah's.—OBADIAH 21.

I

Contents of the book.

THE brief prophecy which bears the name of Obadiah is directed against Edom. The nations are summoned by Jehovah's messengers to make war upon Edom. He has determined to humble Edom's pride; Edom's arrogant confidence in the impregnability of his rock-fortress will be undeceived. Edom will be plundered by enemies and deserted by allies. His wise counsellors will become fools, his heroes cowards; he is doomed to utter destruction (1-9).

It is for his inhuman behaviour towards his brother Jacob that this sentence is pronounced. For in the day of Judah's humiliation and calamity, when Jerusalem was taken and sacked by foreign enemies, Edom was as one of them, rejoicing maliciously at Judah's disaster, sharing the plunder, cutting off the fugitives from escape (10-14).

But Jehovah's day of judgement for all the nations is at hand, and Edom will not escape a just retribution. A remnant will remain in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem will no more be desecrated by invaders: but Edom will be utterly destroyed by the reunited forces of Judah and Israel, who will take possession not only of their own land, but of Edom on the east, and Philistia on the west; and Jehovah's kingdom will be established securely (15-21).

II

Of the prophet himself nothing is known. All that can be inferred from his prophecy is that he was a native of Judah. Widely different opinions are held as to the date at which he prophesied, some placing him in the ninth century, others at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, others much later still. But the choice really lies between the two first-named dates, the relative claims of which we will proceed to consider.

Occasion and date.

The occasion of the prophecy is obvious. It was some recent capture of Jerusalem, in which the Edomites had been guilty of the grossest insult and injury to Judah. They were not themselves the principal assailants; indeed it is not clear that they took part in the attack; but they had displayed an unbrotherly spirit by their malignant delight at Judah's calamity, by sharing in the plunder of the

city, by intercepting the fugitives, and butchering them or surrendering them to be sold as slaves.

Is it the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. *586?*

It is generally assumed that this sack of Jerusalem can be no other than the capture and destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 586. In support of this view it is argued that the terms in which the catastrophe which has befallen Jehovah's people is described can refer to no less disastrous event. It is spoken of as *the day of distress, the day of their calamity, the day of their destruction.* Moreover the spirit of bitter hostility to Edom which the prophecy breathes is said to date from this time. It is in the prophets of the exilic and the post-exilic periods that we must look for the closest parallels to Obadiah.[1]

Relation to Jeremiah.

But this view is traversed by a serious difficulty. Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom (xlix. 7-22) contains much that is found in Obadiah. It is impossible to regard Jeremiah as the original which Obadiah has copied. Jeremiah's frequent practice of borrowing from earlier prophets[2] makes it *a priori* probable that he is borrowing here: the passages common to both prophets do not contain expressions which are characteristic of Jeremiah, whereas the other parts of the prophecy against Edom in Jer. xlix do contain such expressions: the prophecy in Obadiah is a

[1] See Lam. iv. 21 f.; Ezek. xxv. 12 ff.; xxxv. 5 ff.; Isa. xxxiv. 5 ff.; lxiii. 1; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; 1 Esdras iv. 45, 50.

[2] *E.g.* the prophecy against Moab in Jer. xlviii is largely dependent on Isa. xv, xvi.

well-arranged whole, whereas in Jeremiah the same matter is broken up and given in a far less forcible and obvious order.

Did both borrow from an older prophet?

Now Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom appears to have been delivered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xlvi. 1 f.); at any rate before the destruction of Jerusalem, for the judgement upon Judah is still future (xlix. 12, R.V.). Either then Jeremiah is not borrowing from the Book of Obadiah in its present form, or Obadiah does not refer to the capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 586. If the view is maintained that Obadiah refers to that capture of Jerusalem, the relation between his prophecy and that of Jeremiah can only be explained by the hypothesis that they are both borrowing from some older prophecy against Edom. Jeremiah has treated it freely and broken it up, while Obadiah has taken it as a whole, and supplemented it by the addition of the promise of Judah's restoration. In support of this view it is urged that as the common matter extends to the first nine verses of Obadiah only, it is clear that this was all that Jeremiah had before him; and that the inconsistencies, want of connexion, and difference of style, between these verses and the later verses, point to a difference of authorship.

But it is by no means certain that Jeremiah had only *vv.* 1-9 before him. The resemblance between Jer. xlix. 12 and Obadiah 16 can hardly be accidental,

and suggests the probability that Jeremiah had the conclusion of the prophecy before him, though he made little use of it. It would be quite natural for him to adopt the verses which describe the doom of Edom, and to neglect those which describe Edom's offence, if that offence lay in the remote past; while the latter part of the prophecy, which predicts the restoration of Judah, lay entirely outside of his plan. In view of the variety of representation which meets us in almost every prophet it can hardly be seriously argued that because the nations are summoned to muster against Edom in *v.* 1, while in *v.* 18 the final destruction of Edom is spoken of as the work of reunited Israel, therefore these later verses cannot be by the same author as the earlier ones. The want of connexion and the difference of style between the earlier and later verses are not so pronounced that any stress can be laid upon them.

The hypothesis of a common original is no doubt possible; but it is only a hypothesis, and there is much to be said in favour of the unity of the Book of Obadiah. It forms a symmetrical whole. The doom of Edom is naturally followed by the reason for that doom, while the promise of the restoration of Judah forms the natural counterfoil to the fate of Edom, and an appropriate conclusion to the prophecy.

There are links of connexion between the parts.

In both Edom is spoken of as *Esau*;[1] in both Esau's pride is condemned (*vv.* 3, 12); and the retribution (*v.* 6) gains point when it is seen that it is like for like (*vv.* 11, 13, 15). No doubt such links of connexion might be due to a continuator, but they are certainly in favour of the unity of the prophecy.

Or is an earlier sack of Jerusalem referred to?

When once however the assumption, that the calamity described *must* be the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 586, is abandoned, it becomes unnecessary to maintain the theory of composite authorship. And a careful examination of the prophecy favours the view that it is not the final destruction of Jerusalem which is here referred to.

There is not the slightest hint that the Temple and the city have been destroyed; there is no allusion, such as we find in Ezekiel (xxxv. 10 ff.), to the Edomites taking possession of the south country; there is no explicit reference to the Chaldeans, or to Nebuchadnezzar,[2] or to the wholesale deportation of the nation to Babylon.[3] The attempt to account for

[1] *Esau*, *v.* 6; *the mount of Esau*, *vv.* 8, 9, 19, 21; *the house of Esau*, *v.* 18. *Edom* only occurs in the title, and in *v.* 8, where the parallelism requires an alternative name. But *Esau*=*Edom* is rare. The language of Jer. xlix. 3, 10 is influenced by Obadiah. In Mal. i. 2, 3 *Esau* and *Jacob* are the ancestors of the nations. *Children of Esau* occurs in Deut. ii. 4, 8, 12, 22, 29.

[2] Contrast Jer. xlix. 19, 22.

[3] Obad. 20 is very obscure; but, by the help of a slight emendation, we may perhaps adopt the rendering of R.V.: *The captivity of this host of the children of Israel, which are among the Canaanites, shall possess even unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the South.* The

this silence by assigning the prophecy in its completed form to a date long after the destruction of the city is extremely unsatisfactory. The calamity, whatever it was, was certainly recent; and the language of *v.* 12 perhaps implies that a repetition of Edom's offence was possible, which would not have been the case after the final destruction of the city.[1]

But if the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans was not the occasion of the prophecy, what calamity was it that is referred to? Certainly not the sack of Jerusalem by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), for Edom was then subject to Judah; nor the capture of the city by Joash in the reign of Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 13, 14), for the Israelites could not be described as *strangers* and *foreigners* (*v.* 11). There remains the capture and plundering of the city by the Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram, B.C. 848-844. To this it seems most probable that Obadiah refers. It is true that the brief account in 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17 does not mention the Edomites; but the historical books are

first-mentioned captives will be those among the Phoenicians, who trafficked in Israelite slaves (cp. Amos i. 9): the second possibly those to whom Joel refers as having been sold away to Ionia. See p. 70.

[1] The literal rendering of *vv.* 12 ff. is that of the R.V., *Look not thou*, etc. Either the prophet throws himself back to the time of the offence, and reproves the Edomites as if they were actually committing it; in which case the rendering of the R.V. (*thou shouldest not have looked*, etc.) will be virtually, though not grammatically, correct; or he throws his reproof into the form of an admonition because a repetition of the offence is still possible.

equally silent about the part which the Edomites played at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Evidently they were not the chief actors; but it was natural that just at this time they should have joined in the raid with a view to plunder, for they had recently revolted from Judah (2 Kings viii. 20 ff.). The condemnation of Edom's pride (*vv.* 3 ff.) is specially appropriate, if they had but lately asserted their independence.

Relation of Obadiah to Joel and Amos.

This early date for Obadiah falls in with the allusions to his prophecy in Joel, and with the references to Edom in Amos. Joel, as I hope to shew presently, prophesied during the early part of the reign of Joash (B.C. 837-817 ?). He was familiar with the words, or the writings, of Obadiah. *In Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those that escape, as Jehovah hath said* (Joel ii. 32), appears to be a distinct reference to Obad. 17; and the last chapter of Joel contains several allusions to Obadiah.[1]

Amos condemns Edom for unbrotherly conduct towards Israel (i. 11), singling out precisely the same point in Edom's guilt as Obadiah (*vv.* 10, 12), and for trafficking in Israelite slaves, an offence closely akin to the behaviour condemned by Obadiah (*v.* 14). Many years had then elapsed since the events

[1] Comp. Joel iii. 3 with Obad. 11; iii. 7, 8 with Obad. 15; iii. 17 with Obad. 11, 17; iii. 19 with Obad. 10, observing that both passages refer to Edom. Of course this argument falls through, if Joel is to be placed after the exile.

to which Obadiah refers, and the bitterness of feeling which was natural while the memory of Edom's revolt and insolence was still fresh, had been somewhat softened. The brevity of the oracle of Amos against Edom does not admit of detail, but the relation of the two peoples is essentially the same, and the words of Amos are best explained if Obadiah's prophecy had preceded. But once more ; Amos looks forward to the restoration of a united Israel under the house of David, which will *possess the remnant of Edom* (ix. 11, 12), and herein he repeats the prophecy of Obadiah, who foretells that the house of Jacob and the house of Joseph will consume the house of Esau, and the dwellers in the south of Judah will spread over the mount of Esau.[1]

III

Teaching of Obadiah.

The teaching of the Book of Obadiah is extremely simple. Edom's pride is to be humbled; Edom is to be judged for his brutal conduct toward the people of Jehovah, which is the more heinous because of the relationship between them.

[1] The meaning of *Sepharad* in Obad. 20 is much too uncertain to be made the basis of an argument. But the Persian inscriptions of Darius repeatedly name *Çparda* in close connexion with *Jaunâ* or the Ionians (Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* p. 446). It has been suggested that *Çparda* is probably *Sardis;* and if *Sepharad* = Sardis, the passage may refer to the sale of Israelite slaves to the Ionian Greeks of which Joel speaks (iii. 6). Sayce (*Rec. of the Past*, ser. 2, vol. vi, p. viii) identifies it with Bithynia and Galatia.

But the judgement of Edom is only one item in a larger judgement; for *the day of Jehovah is near upon all the nations.* That day will be a day of reckoning and retribution. In the great conflict between good and evil, represented by Jehovah's people on the one side, and the nations which conspire to destroy them on the other, the cause of Jehovah's people must prevail. The enemies of Jehovah's kingdom must be defeated. While the mount of Esau lies desolate, the mount of Zion will no more be profaned by the foot of the invading stranger. The captive exiles will be restored to their home; Judah and Israel will be reunited; and the final result reached in the closing words of the prophecy is that to which all Israel's history pointed, *the kingdom shall be Jehovah's.*

But we are still within the narrow limits of Palestine. No larger hope is expressed of the inclusion of the nations in that kingdom. This agrees with the early date of the prophecy. The nations, as in Joel, are the objects of judgement, not of grace. Not until Israel comes into actual contact with Assyria and Egypt in the days of Isaiah and Micah, does the truth emerge that Israel's mission is to achieve a spiritual conquest of all the nations.

As in Amos, the picture of the future is a picture of temporal prosperity. Israel will possess its own land in undisturbed security, and Jehovah will reign

over them there; but the moral renewal of the people under His rule is not mentioned either as a necessity or as a hope. As in Amos, there is no reference to one special deliverer, the Messianic King. *Deliverers* are spoken of, who will *come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau;* and the term recalls the days of the Judges who were raised up from time to time to fulfil a special work (Jud. iii. 9, 15; Neh. ix. 27).

IV

Fulfilment.

If Obadiah prophesied in the reign of Jehoram, no long interval elapsed before Edom was chastised and Obadiah's prophecy was in part fulfilled. Amaziah captured Sela, the rock-fortress which the Edomites boasted was impregnable (Obad. 3), and inflicted a terrible vengeance upon them (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 12). But they were not completely crushed. They were again making raids upon Judah in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 17), and at the destruction of Jerusalem they filled up the measure of their iniquity by conduct which aroused feelings of the most bitter indignation. They spread over the south country as far as Hebron (Ezek. xxxv. 10; 1 Macc. v. 65). Whether along with the neighbouring nations they were conquered by Nebuchadnezzar is uncertain. But Malachi (i. 3) presupposes that Edom had suffered heavily from invasion; and before the end of the fourth century B.C. their old

capital Petra had passed into the hands of the Nabatheans, who founded the kingdom of Arabia Petraea. The Maccabees waged successful wars against them. Judas Maccabaeus defeated them at Arabattine (1 Macc. v. 3), recovered the south country, and recaptured Hebron. John Hyrcanus compelled the Edomites who were settled there to accept circumcision and to conform to the law. The Edomites appear for the last time during the great struggle of the Jews with Rome. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus their name disappears from history.

Edom perished but Israel survived. The successive crises of its history were successive steps towards the establishment of that kingdom which is the final goal to which Obadiah's prophecy looks forward. But the idea which he expressed under limitations of time and space and the conceptions of his own age has been expanded and spiritualised. The closing words of his prophecy are still the end upon which the eye of hope is fixed. But the kingdom for which we look and pray is not limited, material, temporal, but universal, spiritual, eternal.

Thus when we claim fulfilment for the prophecies of Obadiah, we do not mean that the course of history, either for Edom or for Israel, corresponded step by step with his anticipations. He combines into one picture a process which was to be the work of ages. But we do claim that the principles which find

expression in his prophecy in a limited and relative form have been verified by the course of history, and we await with confidence that complete fulfilment of them to which the New Testament still points us forward.

LECTURE III

JOEL

I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh.—JOEL ii. 28.

I

The prophet Joel

OF Joel the son of Pethuel nothing is known but the meagre hints which may be gathered from his prophecy. The name was not an uncommon one. It appears as early as the time of Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 2), and survives as late as the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 9), but there is no ground whatever for identifying the prophet with any one of the name mentioned elsewhere. The name is significant. It means *Jehovah is God.* Like the name Micah, it contains a brief confession of faith.

a native of Judah.

Joel was a native of Judah. His home was in Jerusalem or its immediate neighbourhood. He speaks repeatedly of *Zion* (ii. 1, 15, 32; iii. 16, 17, 21), and *the children of Zion* (ii. 23); of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* (ii. 32; iii. 1, 16, 17, 18, 20); and *the children of Judah and Jerusalem* (iii. 6, 8, 19), in a way which leaves no doubt upon this point.

He was familiar with the Temple and its services, with the priests and their ministrations (i. 9, 13, 14, 16; ii. 14, 17; iii. 18). When he uses the name *Israel* (ii. 27; iii. 2, 16) it is as the covenant name of God's chosen people, not as the distinctive name of the Northern Kingdom, to which he makes no allusion whatsoever.

Was he a priest?

The frequent references to the Temple and its worship, and the importance attached to the intercessory functions of the priests, have been supposed to indicate that, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, he was himself priest as well as prophet. But this is at least doubtful. In more than one passage he seems to summon the priests to their duties as though he were not himself one of them (i. 13, 14; ii. 17).

Problems of date and interpretation.

Not only however is the personality of the prophet shrouded in obscurity. Opinions differ most widely as to the time at which he flourished, and the character of the book which bears his name. Was he among the earliest of the prophets, in the period before Assyria had even begun to loom like a threatening storm-cloud on the horizon? or is he to be placed among the very latest of the prophets, at a time when even the memory of Babylon's cruel tyranny had been blunted into vague generalities? Did he first originate, or at least first commit to writing, thoughts and ideas which were to be taken up and expanded by his successors? or did he merely resume and summarise the writings of his long-past

predecessors, with which he was acquainted from diligent literary study? Is the description of the locust plague narrative or prediction? Is it to be understood literally or allegorically? or may not the whole book be rather apocalyptic in its character, not resting upon a foundation of present facts, or addressed to any particular audience, but idealising natural phenomena with a view to delineate for its readers the terrors and the glories of the age to come?

II

Contents of the book.

All fruitful discussion of these problems must, it is obvious, start from a careful examination of the book itself. It consists of two parts. In the first part (i. 2—ii. 17) the prophet speaks. According to the view which will be adopted here, he is describing an actual calamity which has befallen the people, and exhorting them to penitence and prayer. In the second part (ii. 18—iii. 21) Jehovah speaks, promising the removal of the calamity in the immediate future, and foretelling the issues of judgement and blessing which are in store for the remoter future. It is important to remember that although these two parts of the book are now combined in close juxtaposition without any marked break, they did not necessarily form one continuous discourse. In reducing his book to writing Joel has probably combined addresses delivered on various occasions,

and possibly supplemented them by additional prophecies not orally delivered.

The general theme of the first division of the book is a call to national humiliation and repentance in view of the visitation of locusts and drought by which the land has been devastated. In his first discourse (ch. i) the prophet describes this calamity, unparalleled in past times, and destined to be long memorable in the future. Successive swarms of locusts have stripped the land and left it bare (i. 2-4). The careless drunkards must rouse themselves from their debauch, for they can no longer drug themselves into insensibility to the sufferings of the land (5-7). Zion must mourn, for so terrible is the scarcity that meal and wine can no longer be provided for the accustomed offerings in the Temple (8-10). The tillers of the soil must mourn for the loss of their labours (11, 12). The priests are bidden to humble themselves in penitence for the intermission of their due ministrations, and, proclaiming a fast, to gather the people for solemn humiliation and prayer (13, 14); and the prophet puts into their mouths a supplication which pathetically describes the sufferings of animals as well as men in the drought which has burnt up and desolated the whole country (15-20).

(A) Ch. i. 2-ii. 17.

(1) Ch. i.

In ch. ii a fresh address commences. The thought already suggested (i. 15) that the present visitation is the harbinger of the day of Jehovah is

(2) Ch. ii.

taken up and pressed home. The locust plague is described as the army of Jehovah, innumerable and irresistible, at the head of which He is Himself advancing to judgement (ii. 1-11). Yet even now, heartfelt repentance may avail to avert the judgement, and restore the people to His favour (12-14).

(3) Ch. ii. 15–17. Then, in a brief exhortation, the prophet once more bids proclaim the fast, prescribes the manner of it, and dictates to the priests the solemn litany of intercession which they are to offer in the Temple court (15-17).

(B) Ch. ii. 18–iii. 21. The second part of the book contains Jehovah's answer to His people's prayer.[1] An interval must be assumed, in which the prophet's call to repentance was obeyed. Then the prophet, speaking directly in Jehovah's name and as His mouthpiece, conveys the double promise of the removal of the temporal judgement in the immediate future, and of the bestowal of spiritual blessing in the remoter future; and expands the thought of the day of Jehovah in its twofold aspect of judgement and salvation.

(1) Ch. ii. 18–27. The locust army will be banished and destroyed; land, cattle, and people will again rejoice in abundant rain and the restored fertility of the soil; and in their deliverance they will recognise a fresh proof that Jehovah is their God (18-27).

(2) Ch. ii. 28–32. But these temporal judgements and temporal

[1] It must be noticed that *vv.* 18, 19 are certainly to be rendered in the past tense: *And Jehovah was jealous for His land, and had pity on His people, and Jehovah answered and said unto His people, Behold, I will send you corn,* etc.

blessings are the types of spiritual blessings and greater judgements in the future. Hereafter Jehovah will pour out His spirit upon all flesh; awful signs will precede the great and terrible day of Jehovah; but in the midst of them all will be deliverance in Jerusalem for those who call upon the name of Jehovah (28-32).

In that distant future the nations will be summoned to Jehovah's tribunal to answer for the wrongs they have done to His people (iii. 1-8). They are challenged to muster their forces and do their worst. It is in vain. They do but gather themselves to meet their doom (9-15). But in that day of terror Jehovah will be His people's refuge. Foreigners will no more overrun the holy land. Judah will be blessed with a marvellous fertility, while Egypt and Edom lie desolate for the punishment of their sins. Jehovah's presence will be manifested in the midst of a pardoned people (16-21).

(3) Ch. iii. 1-8.

(4) Ch. iii. 9-21.

III

Such is a brief outline of the Book of Joel, if we adopt the literal interpretation, which is, I believe, at once the most natural and the most satisfactory. The prophet's teaching springs throughout from the needs and the circumstances of his own time. The drought and the locusts were an actual, present visitation. So terrible was it, that the great day of Jehovah, the final day of judgement, seemed to be close at hand. But the

Connexion of the prophecy with the circumstances of the time.

prophet's message for his countrymen is that repentance may avert that judgement. They repent, and he is commissioned to announce the removal of the plague. But they must not fancy that because it is postponed, the day of Jehovah will never come. It will come, in blessing and in judgement. The locust army which has invaded Judah is but a type of the army of the nations which will muster to battle against Jehovah and His people. The destruction of the locusts is the type of the destruction of the nations. The outpouring of abundant rain upon the parched land is the type of the outpouring of the spirit of God in the latter days. The deliverance of those who call upon Jehovah in their present distress (i. 19) is the pledge of the deliverance of those who call upon His name in the great day of judgement (ii. 32). The restored fertility of the land is an anticipation of the marvellous fertility of the future. The present deliverance is a proof of the Presence of Jehovah among His people (ii. 27); that Presence is the supreme blessing of the redeemed nation when the final judgement is past (iii. 21).

The locust plague described not predicted,

The literal interpretation of the first part of the book as the description of an actual calamity has, however, been warmly disputed.

Two questions have been raised—(1) whether this part of the book is descriptive or predictive; (2) whether it is literal or allegorical. To the first question I believe a decisive answer may con-

fidently be given, that the prophet describes a calamity from which the land was actually suffering. This is clear, whether the locusts are regarded as literal and actual locusts, or interpreted allegorically of an invading army. The appeal to the experience of the old men and their fathers (i. 2); the charge to hand on the memory of the visitation to future generations (i. 3); the detailed and graphic picture of the calamity in all its consequences; in fact, almost every feature and every verse of the passage, condemn the theory that the prophet is predicting the future while he seems to describe the present.

literal not allegorical.

To the second question I believe that an equally decisive answer may be given. It is argued that the description of the locust plague far exceeds the bounds of possible reality, and in several of its features is applicable only to an invading army of human beings, and not to irrational insects; that "the northern *army*," literally *the northerner* (ii. 20), must refer not to locusts, which never come from the north, but to some enemy advancing from that quarter (cp. Jer. i. 13 ff.); that the prayer, "Give not Thine heritage to reproach, *that the nations should rule over them*" (ii. 17), clearly points to the fear of subjugation by a foreign invader. It has even been supposed that the four kinds of locusts (i. 4; ii. 25) represent the four great powers from which Israel successively suffered—the Assyrio-Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, and the Roman empires;

or four successive invading armies at some period of its history.

To these arguments it may be answered that Joel's language is not to be regarded as plain bare prose, though in fact the devastation wrought by locusts can scarcely be exaggerated. It has in it a touch of poetical imagination and Oriental hyperbole. His description of the locusts is perhaps coloured by the thought constantly present to his mind that they were a Divine visitation, the prototype and the harbinger of the great day of Jehovah, with its attendant terrors. "The northerner" is a term of too uncertain meaning to count for much. While locusts undoubtedly for the most part enter Palestine from the south or south-east, it does not seem certain that they never came from the north. Possibly the word may have denoted what is destructive, ill-omened, and calamitous. In ch. ii. 17 the right rendering unquestionably is, "Give not Thine heritage to reproach, that the nations *should use a byword against them*." The calamity which had befallen Israel would seem to be due to the unwillingness or inability of Jehovah to protect them, so that the heathen would mockingly ask, *Where is their God?*

But the final and conclusive argument against the allegorical interpretation is that the locust plague is itself compared to an army (ii. 2 ff.). It would be strange indeed to compare a symbol with the reality of which it is intended to be a symbol. And when

Jehovah promises to restore the damage which has been wrought, it is exclusively of the produce of the earth that He speaks (ii. 21 ff.). Here, at any rate, if the language had been allegorical, it would have been natural to look for some hint of the actual disasters to which it was intended to refer, for some allusion to the restoration of plunder carried off and captives torn from their homes. But there is none; and we are driven back upon the simple and natural explanation that Joel is describing the disaster which had actually befallen the land at the time when he spoke or wrote, from an unprecedentedly terrible plague of locusts, combined with a severe drought.

The apocalyptic theory untenable.

There is, however, a modification of the allegorical theory which has found considerable favour in recent times. According to this view, the book is an eschatological or apocalyptic work, describing the terrors of the last days, which will precede the final day of judgement. It was never orally delivered to an audience, but composed for study. It is addressed not to the prophet's contemporaries, but to those upon whom that awful day will dawn. The locusts of ch. i are not common locusts, but weird supernatural creatures. The army described in ch. ii under the figure of locusts is no ordinary army, but a mysterious host of unearthly warriors. These strange terrors and supernatural portents precede and usher in the day of Jehovah, which is then described in its double aspect of judgement and

blessing. "The northerner" is a term borrowed from Ezek. xxxviii. 6, 15 to designate the army of Gog, issuing from the remote recesses of the north for a final conflict against the people of God.

This view is open to the objections already urged against the older form of the allegorical theory. And further, there is no hint that Joel's words are addressed, not to his immediate contemporaries, but to some imaginary readers in a distant future. He includes himself along with his audience as a spectator of the sufferings of the land (i. 16). Moreover, there is no ground for distinguishing the locusts of ch. i from the locust army of ch. ii. In the first discourse the devastation which they have wrought, in the second the irresistibleness of their advance, is in the foreground; but in both discourses they are connected with the day of Jehovah (i. 15; ii. 1, 11), and throughout the damage wrought is simply that of the locust plague, which is designated alike in the description of its march (ii. 11) and in the promise of restoration (ii. 25) as *Jehovah's army*. This apocalyptic theory, moreover, is closely bound up with a view of the date of the book which we shall find good grounds for rejecting.

We conclude, then, that Joel describes an actual plague of locusts, accompanied by a severe drought. This visitation formed the occasion of his prophecy, and gave shape to his predictions for the future.

But it may freely be admitted that his picture of the present calamity is drawn with bolder lines and stronger colouring in view of the more awful realities in the distant future which it prefigured. The description of natural phenomena must always be largely influenced by the ideas which they represent to the beholder.

IV

Date of Joel.

The date of Joel's prophecy is one of the most keenly debated problems of Biblical criticism. It is generally acknowledged that he must either have been one of the very earliest of the prophets, or have lived after the Return from the Captivity, and have been, in all probability, one of the very latest of them. The absence of any mention of Syria, Assyria, and Babylon among the enemies of Judah points to a time when these nations had not yet come into conflict with Judah, or else had disappeared from the stage of history. For the earlier date we must go back beyond the time of Amos, who threatens the Syrians with punishment, and already foresees that Israel will fall a prey to Assyria, to the earlier part of the reign of Joash, before Hazael invaded Judah, and only retired from Jerusalem on the payment of a heavy indemnity (2 Kings xii. 18 ff.). Most of the critics who adopt the earlier date agree in placing Joel in this period, *i.e.* according to the revised chronology, between about

837 and 817 B.C. No other date has been suggested in the regal period which has at all an equal degree of probability.

Presumption raised by the position of Joel among the Minor Prophets.

The position of Joel in the series of the Minor Prophets raises a presumption in favour of an early date. It is the fashion to set aside this consideration as entirely worthless; but it cannot be denied that the arrangement of the collection is in the main intended to be chronological. Hosea, Amos, Micah stand first as prophets of the Assyrian period; Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah form a middle group in the half-century before the exile; Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi stand last as belonging to the period of the Restoration. The chronological intention in this grouping cannot be mistaken. But if Joel belonged to the later period, why was he not placed along with the prophets of that period? If he lived late on in it—and the arguments which make for placing him in that period make for placing him decidedly late in it—it is hard to suppose that all tradition of his date could have been lost at the time when the collection was made, at the latest in the third century B.C., and very probably at an earlier date.

The position of Joel in the collection of the Minor Prophets does no more than create a presumption that, at the time when that collection was made, he was thought to have lived at an early period. But it may justify us in considering first

whether the indications which can be gathered from his prophecy do not confirm that presumption.

The characteristics of the time

At the time when Joel prophesied the priests were held in high esteem. The Temple services were regularly maintained, and were regarded as of great importance. The intermission of the daily meal-offering and drink-offering is regarded as the culminating point of the calamity caused by the drought and the locusts, for it seems to signify nothing less than a rupture of the fellowship between Jehovah and His people. But religion was no mere outward formalism. The need of repentance, deep and thorough, is fully recognised, and is pressed upon the people in words that are true for all time (ii. 12 ff.). To judge from the absence of any denunciation of particular sins, such as injustice, immorality, or idolatry, the standard of morals and religion was high. Further, there is no reference to a king or court; and the prophet's view is limited entirely to Judah; there is no allusion to the Northern Kingdom.

correspond to the circumstances of the early part of the reign of Joash.

There is one period, and one only, in the history of Judah before the exile to which these indications can point. That period is, as has already been said, the earlier part of the reign of Joash. After Ahaziah had been slain by Jehu, the throne of Judah was seized by the queen-mother Athaliah, the worthy daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (2 Kings xi. 1 ff.). In Oriental fashion she murdered all the male

members of the royal family, with the exception of Joash, who was saved from the massacre by his aunt Jehosheba, the wife of the high priest Jehoiada. For six years he was concealed in the Temple. Athaliah reigned with undisputed sway. Under her auspices Baal worship was publicly carried on in Jerusalem.

When Joash had entered on his seventh year, Jehoiada planned an insurrection, deposed Athaliah, who was put to death, and crowned and anointed Joash. A religious reformation followed. Baal worship was put down, and the Temple worship was reorganised. The change was evidently welcomed by the people, who hated Athaliah, and it was effected without serious opposition. *All the people of the land*, we are told, *rejoiced, and the city was quiet* (2 Kings xi. 20). Jehoiada became the young king's guardian. During his lifetime all went well. The worship of Jehovah was maintained, and the Temple was restored. It was not until after his death that the princes, jealous, no doubt, of the priestly influence at court, succeeded in mis-persuading the king, and a relapse into idolatry followed (2 Chron. xxiv. 17).

During the minority of Joash a condition of affairs such as that indicated in Joel may well have existed. Priestly influence was in the ascendant. The person and authority of the king were in the background. There had been a popular reaction against the

Baal worship of Athaliah's reign. The worship of Jehovah was, for the time at any rate, generally practised.

This date agrees with the references to foreign nations.

In this period, then, we find at any rate a possible place for the prophecy of Joel; and the possibility that he flourished then is raised to a strong probability by the references in his book to foreign nations. We have already seen that this date will account for the absence of all mention of Syria, Assyria, and Babylon; they had not yet come into conflict with Judah. But we have not only an argument from silence. The nations which are actually mentioned are nations which we know to have been enemies of Judah before the time of Joash. In ch. iii we have a prophecy of the judgement upon the heathen; and the nations which are singled out for special mention as enemies of Judah are the Phoenicians and Philistines (*vv.* 4 ff.), the Egyptians and Edomites (*v.* 19). The Phoenicians and Philistines are charged with carrying off the spoils of Jehovah's people to decorate their temples, and with trafficking in Israelite slaves. The Egyptians and the Edomites are charged with the gratuitous murder of unoffending Israelites in their land. Much stress can hardly be laid upon the mention of Judah's hereditary enemy, Egypt. Still, in the time of Joash not more than a century had elapsed since Shishak invaded Judah, and captured and plundered Jerusalem (1 Kings xiv. 25 f.). The memory of that disaster

Egypt.

must still have survived. But Judah was smarting yet more keenly under the sense of recent injury from

Edom. Edom. From the time of David, Edom had been subject to Judah. Jehoshaphat exercised the rights of an overlord, summoned the king of Edom to follow him to battle, and marched through his country (1 Kings xxii. 47; 2 Kings iii. 9). But under his weak son and successor Jehoram, Edom revolted, probably, according to the revised chronology, about B.C. 848 (2 Kings viii. 20-22). What more probable than that the revolt was accompanied by a massacre of Israelites resident in Edom—the shedding of innocent blood to which Joel refers?

Philistia. From the Philistines, too, Judah suffered heavily about the same time. In conjunction with the Arabians they invaded Judah, took and plundered Jerusalem, and carried away the treasures of Jehoram's palace, together with his sons and his wives (2 Chron. xxi. 16 ff.). It is not recorded that

Phoenicia. the Phoenicians took any share in the attack. But they were the great slave-traders of the East. As we learn from Amos, they sold their captives for the Philistines (Amos i. 6, 9); and to the Israelite, with his keen love of freedom and attachment to his country, this was almost, if not quite, as great an injury as open hostility. Thus the mention of these four nations and no others as hostile to Judah strikingly supports the view that Joel prophesied in the early part of the reign of Joash.

There is one possible historical allusion which may be mentioned here. Though but little stress can be laid upon it, it points in the same direction as the references to foreign nations. The scene of the final overthrow of the heathen is laid in the *Valley of Jehoshaphat* (iii. 2, 12). The significance of the name *Jehovah judgeth* may be sufficient to account for its use; but it undoubtedly gains in point if we may assume that there is in it an allusion to Jehoshaphat's great victory over the confederate forces of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in which Jehovah fought for His people and inflicted judgement upon their enemies, who had mustered their forces with the intention of annihilating Judah (2 Chron. xx). It is at least possible that this great triumph over the nations, still fresh in the recollection of the people, for it happened only a quarter of a century before the time of Joash, supplied the prophet with his imagery and suggested his language.[1] *A possible historical allusion.*

The probability of the early date of Joel is still further confirmed by the consideration of the relation of Amos to Joel. Clearly either Amos is quoting Joel, or Joel is referring to Amos; and, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, I cannot but think *Relation of Joel to Amos.*

[1] The locality of Jehoshaphat's victory was in the neighbourhood of Engedi, in the wilderness of Tekoa. The tradition which assigns the name *Valley of Jehoshaphat* to the valley of the Kidron, between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, cannot be traced beyond the time of Eusebius and Jerome. That valley cannot be meant here. The term used, denoting a broad open vale, would be quite inapplicable to the narrow ravine of the Kidron.

that it is Amos who is dependent on Joel. He opens his prophecy (Amos i. 2) by repeating the words of his predecessor (Joel iii. 16), *Jehovah shall roar from Zion,* as if to shew that he is continuing Joel's work, and that they are both alike messengers of the same God, Who will arise to judge the heathen. The connexion, moreover, lies deeper than a mere external coincidence of language. The Book of Joel closes with a vision of judgement on the nations, and a promise of prosperity for Judah. Amos takes up the thought of judgement, develops it in detail with specific threatenings, and warns Judah and Israel that they will not escape. But it is not only at the beginning of his book that Amos refers to Joel. He closes his prophecy (ix. 13) with a repetition of Joel's promise of marvellous fertility for the land of Judah (Joel iii. 18), as though he would declare that, although the promise has not yet been realised, God's word cannot fail of fulfilment. Thus in respect both of threatening and of promise he confirms the message of his predecessor.

It has been maintained that Joel is borrowing the language of Amos. But both quotations are firmly embedded in the context of Joel, and they belong to his circle of ideas. How natural to the prophet for whom Jerusalem is the centre of thought and action are the words, *Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem!* How appropriate in Joel is the promise of fertility in contrast to the

scarcity caused by the locusts and the drought! In Amos, on the other hand, the names *Jerusalem* and *Zion* occur each but once again (ii. 5; vi. 1); and however suitable the words may be as a trumpet-note of warning of impending judgement, they stand by themselves in no direct connexion with the context. It should be noted, moreover, that Amos continues with words which sound like a further reminiscence of the circumstances of the Book of Joel: *The pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither.* Such language is natural to the shepherd-prophet, yet at the same time he seems to borrow a word from Joel.[1]

Again, Amos seems to refer to the circumstances described by Joel when he reminds the Israelites of the judgements by which Jehovah had called them to repentance (iv. 6 ff.).[2] The reproof, *Yet have ye not returned unto Me,* corresponds exactly to Joel's summons, *Return unto Me with all your heart* (ii. 12).

Once more, it is plain that *the day of Jehovah* was a familiar idea to the people in the time of Amos (v. 18 ff.), though they misinterpreted its significance, claiming its blessings for themselves, and assigning its threatenings exclusively to their enemies. Such a misconception might easily have arisen from a

[1] This word for *pastures* is used here only by Amos, but occurs three times in Joel (i. 19, 20; ii. 22).

[2] Amos (iv. 9) uses the word *gāzām*, A.V. *palmer-worm*, lit. *biter*, for some kind of locust. It is found in Joel i. 4; ii. 25, and nowhere else.

one-sided and partial interpretation of the prophecy of Joel.

Relation to Ezekiel.

It is, of course, impossible to affirm positively that the prophecy of Joel is referred to by Ezekiel (xxxviii. 17; xxxix. 8), when he speaks of ancient prophecies which had predicted the great final assault of the powers of the world upon Israel, but it is at least important to observe that the conception of a conflict between the confederate nations and Israel, and the supernatural destruction of the nations who defy Jehovah in defying His people, is no new idea in Ezekiel's time. Ezekiel's emphatic language *in ancient days* (xxxviii. 17) scarcely allows us to suppose that he is referring to the quite recent utterances of Zephaniah and Jeremiah; but it would be natural if he had Joel in mind, and Joel had prophesied more than two centuries before.

Arguments for a post-exilic date

Such are some of the principal reasons for regarding Joel as one of the earliest of the prophets. We must, however, examine the arguments urged with equal confidence for placing him after the return from the Captivity. It is alleged that the language of ch. iii. 1 ff., 17 is decisive for a date after the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 586; that the absence of all allusion to the Northern Kingdom, or to a king and princes, points to a time when that kingdom had passed away, and even Judah had no longer a king or court, but was governed by priests and elders; that the sale of Israelite slaves to *the sons of Javan*,

or Ionian Greeks (iii. 6), indicates a late date, for down to the time of Ezekiel the Ionians were bringing slaves to Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 13); that the ideas of the book are hierarchical and ceremonial, and only conceivable in the period of the Restoration, and in the small community of the returned exiles; that the absence of reproof for special sins, and in particular for idolatry, cannot be reconciled with all that we know of pre-exilic times; that the attitude of the prophet towards the heathen nations shews an approximation towards the narrow exclusiveness of later Judaism. The general tendency of recent criticism has been in favour of a post-exilic date; but to what precise epoch of the post-exilic period the book should be assigned is a much disputed point. It cannot well be earlier than B.C. 500, for the Temple is standing, and its services are regularly performed. To a date about this time some critics would assign it, but according to others it is later than the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, and must be placed about B.C. 400, or even later. Those who adopt the later date for the most part regard Joel as a kind of compendium of Jewish eschatology, and the forerunner of the later apocalyptic literature.

of doubtful cogency.

These arguments seem formidable, but their force diminishes upon closer examination. The phrase in ch. iii. 1, rendered in our English Versions *bring again the captivity*, probably means *restore the fortune*, and does not necessarily denote restoration from exile.

In any case it is no proof of a post-exilic date, for it is used by Amos (ix. 14) and Hosea (vi. 11), when they look beyond the disasters which they foresee are in store for Israel, to the restoration of the people in the distant future. Joel speaks of a dispersion of Israel among the nations (iii. 2), but the context shews that it is not the deportation of the people *en masse* by its Assyrian or Babylonian conquerors to which he refers, but rather the sale of captives as slaves to distant nations (*vv.* 6, 7), for which Amos condemns Gaza and Tyre with stern severity (i. 6, 9). The division of Jehovah's land (iii. 2) is not the conquest of the whole country by the Chaldeans (in what sense was that a division of the land among the nations?), but the seizure or reconquest of territory which had once belonged to Judah, by Philistines, Edomites, and other neighbouring nations, which, as we have seen, took place in the reign of Jehoram.

The silence of Joel about the Northern Kingdom may be due not to the fact that this kingdom had ceased to exist, but to the limited circle of Joel's interests. His silence, moreover, admits of a very natural explanation, if he was writing at a time when Judah was still smarting from the recollection of the cruel tyranny of Athaliah. It is easy to understand how the hopes of reunion which appear in almost all the other prophets might, under these circumstances, fall into the background.

The absence of all mention of the king and court

is sufficiently accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the minority of Joash. Too much stress must not be laid upon it. The Book of Micah contains no reference to Hezekiah, except in the title, though, as we know from the Book of Jeremiah (xxvi. 18), he came into close personal relations with him.

The predominant influence of the priesthood, and the importance attached to ceremonial, have been somewhat exaggerated. But Jehoiada could not have occupied the position which he did without increasing the influence of his class. Devotion to ceremonial was by no means limited to post-exilic times. Isaiah's complaint is that it was regarded as the sum and substance of religion.

Elders, if indeed magistrates are denoted by the term at all in Joel,[1] were not an institution peculiar to post-exilic times. On the contrary, they are more often mentioned before the exile than after it.

The absence of rebuke for particular sins, and the attitude of the prophet towards the nations, are at least as difficult to explain on the hypothesis of the late date as on that of the early date. In the first quarter of a century after the Return, Haggai and Zechariah have abundant fault to find with the people. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi find even

[1] In ch. i. 14 the right rendering may possibly be *Gather, ye elders, the inhabitants*, etc., but it is not certain. In ch. i. 2; ii. 16, the context shews that *old men* are meant.

graver offences to rebuke. The circumstances of the Book of Joel do not agree with what we know of either of these periods; and in fact the advocates of the post-exilic date generally avoid the difficulty by placing the book in the interval between Zechariah and Ezra, or some considerable time after Malachi—two periods of which we know practically nothing. All the later prophets look forward to the conversion of at least a remnant of the nations. Joel's "particularism" may be due to his early date rather than to the advance of a spirit of Judaism. Hosea is wholly silent about the destiny of the nations. Amos looks forward to their conquest, not their conversion (ix. 12).

The argument from the course of the slave trade between Phoenicia and Ionia can hardly be pressed. The Phoenicians maintained intercourse with the Ionian Greeks from the earliest times.[1] Syrian slaves may have been transported to Asia Minor then as they were afterwards; and Joel would select the Ionians for mention as the remotest region to which his countrymen had been carried away.

[1] Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 740) speaks of—

> "A silver bowl well wrought,
> By Sidon's artists cunningly adorned,
> Borne by Phoenicians o'er the dark blue sea";

and one of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) mentions Ionians in connexion with Tyre. See Sayce in *The Academy*, 17th Oct. 1891, p. 340. That *Javan* means Ionia seems probable, but even on this point critics are not agreed. Sayce (Smith's *Dict. Bible*, ed. 2, i. 573) supposes it to be Cyprus: others place it in South Arabia.

The positive arguments for the early date of Joel seem to me decidedly to preponderate, and the force of those for the late date diminishes upon examination. It is extremely difficult to see how Joel can be fitted into any part of the period after the Return without considerable assumptions; and it is admitted that we are not in a position to explain his references to surrounding nations from the circumstances of that period. There is an entire absence of indications that the prophet is living in a small, struggling, despised community. The Temple worship is firmly established and regularly organised. There is no sign of the apathy and neglect which Haggai and Zechariah rebuke, or of the contemptuous indifference which Malachi censures.

Comparison of Joel with Zech. xii–xiv.

Attention has been called to the resemblance between Joel and Zechariah xii–xiv, and they have been assigned approximately to the same period.[1] The comparison is instructive, for there are certain resemblances, but the contrasts are greater than the resemblances. Joel's prophecy springs out of the actual circumstances of his time. It is emphatically a message to his contemporaries. It summons them to humiliation and penitence. It promises the removal of the plague from which they have been suffering. When he goes on to speak of the more distant future, it is in terms suggested by, and closely related to, the circumstances of the present. Zechariah

[1] See Cheyne's *Bampton Lectures*, p. xx.

xii–xiv, on the other hand, is not based upon present circumstances. It is apocalyptic and eschatological, rather than prophetic and didactic. It deals simply with the distant future. The difference between the two works seems to me so marked that if, as I hope to shew, Zechariah xii–xiv belongs to the post-exilic period, a strong presumption is raised against the probability that Joel can be referred to the same period.

Argument from style.

The question may naturally be asked, how it can be that style and language do not at once enable us to decide between dates so far apart as the ninth and fifth, or even fourth, centuries B.C.? The most opposite conclusions have been drawn from the style of Joel. To one critic its smooth, flowing simplicity appears to be a certain indication of high antiquity; another regards it as the result of art and familiarity with the older literature. But style, if we may judge from modern instances, depends at least as much upon the individual as upon the age; and in the case of the prophets it probably depends largely upon the way in which the books were committed to writing. The remains of Hebrew literature are too scanty for us to decide with certainty what was and what was not possible in a particular period. The uniformity of the Massoretic punctuation has probably obliterated many distinctions of pronunciation which would have served as landmarks. For these reasons it is doubtful if the argument from

Joel's style and language can be laid in the scale on either side. But it is a strange misrepresentation to say that "the language of Joel plainly bears the character of the latest period of Hebrew literature." If any argument can be drawn from it, it is in favour of the early date.

V

Teaching of Joel:— The day of Jehovah.

Joel, if we are right in assigning him to the ninth century B.C., leads the way in the series of prophecies which culminate in the Apocalypse. In the plague of locusts and drought, which was the occasion of his prophecy, he saw a sign and a presage of the great day of judgement and redemption—*the day of Jehovah.* It seems to be close at hand. *Alas for the day! for the day of Jehovah is at hand, and as destruction from the Almighty shall it come. . . . Great is the day of Jehovah and very terrible! and who can abide it?* But repentance may avert the final catastrophe. Jehovah is *gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness, and repenting Him of the evil.* If the visitation bears its fruit in penitence, He may send blessing to take the place of judgement.

The people obeyed the prophet's warning and repented, and he was commissioned to assure them of the speedy removal of the scourge from which they had suffered, and of the complete restoration of the fertility of their land.

But he would not have them rest contented with this immediate and temporal blessing. This present experience is intended as a presage of spiritual blessing, and a warning of decisive judgement. The great day of Jehovah is still to come, heralded by terrible signs in nature, *wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke.* While for the nations who have misused the people of Jehovah and defied Him it will be a time of judgement and retribution, for Israel it will be a time of the outpouring of the spirit of Jehovah, of deliverance in the midst of judgement.

The outpouring of the spirit of Jehovah.

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and even upon the slaves and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit (ii. 28, 29).

Universal as the promise to *all flesh* seems at first sight to be, the context and the explanation, *upon your sons and upon your daughters*, shew that in its first and original intention it is limited to Israel. The words admit of the larger meaning which was given them on the day of Pentecost, but it does not appear to be as yet explicitly present to the prophet's mind. He foretells the realisation of Moses' wish, *Would God that all Jehovah's people were prophets, that Jehovah would put His spirit upon them* (Num. xi. 29). In the new age the whole nation will receive the

gift of the divine spirit, and participate in that prophetic illumination which as yet is granted only to a few select individuals. Inferiority of position will be no bar to privilege. Even slaves will share the blessing.

Fulfilment of the promise at Pentecost.

The promise of the outpouring of the spirit was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14 ff.). The prophecy did not, indeed, refer solely to the Pentecostal gift, nor was it exhausted in it. But the miracle of Pentecost ushered in the new dispensation to which Joel had pointed, and in which his words are to receive an ever-increasing fulfilment. It is noteworthy that a larger meaning is attached to the words. *All flesh* is extended to include Gentile as well as Jew. And that which Joel speaks of as the action of Jehovah Himself is attributed to the Risen and Ascended Lord (Acts ii. 33). Nor does St. Peter omit the words which tell of the approach of the day of the Lord in its aspect of terror. Grace and judgement move side by side. The Fall of Jerusalem was the sequel of the day of Pentecost. For those who would not receive their God when He came in mercy, He must appear in wrath.

The deliverance of Israel.

The day of Jehovah will come with its attendant terrors. But it will not be a day of terror for Israel, for *whosoever shall call on the name of Jehovah shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be a company that escape, as Jehovah hath said, and among the survivors shall be those whom Jehovah calleth*

(ii. 32).[1] Here, too, the primary reference appears to be to Israel; and although the words admit of a wider meaning, it is implicit, and not definitely expressed.

The judgement of the nations.

The counterpart of this picture of Israel's illumination and deliverance is the judgement of the nations. They are summoned before Jehovah's tribunal to answer for their offences against His people. Those who have plundered Jerusalem, and sold Israelite captives into distant slavery, will themselves in turn meet the like fate.

Another scene follows. The nations are ironically challenged to muster for the final conflict. Jehovah brings down His heavenly hosts to battle against them. The day of His final triumph is at hand. The prophet leaves the doom of the insurgent armies to his reader's imagination, and turns to picture the felicity of Zion, when *Jerusalem shall be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any more;* when there shall be no more scarcity and drought, but perennial streams will fertilise even the barren *ravine of the acacias;* when the Presence of Jehovah among His people will at length be fully realised.

Limitations of Joel's prophecy as regards—(a) The salvation of the nations,

The limitations of Joel's prophecy require careful notice. For him the great contrast is between Israel and the nations. Israel is to be saved and glorified. The nations are to be judged. The contrast between the righteous and the ungodly within the chosen

[1] On the probability that here and elsewhere Joel refers to Obadiah, see above, p. 40.

people, and the hope of the salvation of at least a remnant among the heathen nations, lie outside the circle of Joel's teaching. There are none of the stern warnings which we find in almost every other prophet, that the day of Jehovah will be a day of terror and doom to the sinners even among His own people; none of the glorious hopes which meet us alike in the prophets of the eighth century and in the prophets of the Restoration, that the nations will one day pay homage to Jehovah, and come to Zion for instruction. If there is room in his words for both warning and hope, at any rate they are not explicitly expressed. Can these limitations best be explained on the hypothesis of an early or a late date? Has the universalism of Messianic prophecy not yet been reached? or is the stern exclusiveness of later Judaism already clouding over the larger hope? Surely it is natural to see in them the unexpanded bud of prophecy, rather than its withered flower.

(b) a personal Messiah.

The author of deliverance is Jehovah Himself. There is no prediction of a Teacher[1] or Deliverer or

[1] The rendering of ch. ii. 23: *For He hath given you the teacher for righteousness*, which is followed by the Targum and Vulgate (*quia dedit vobis doctorem iustitiae*), cannot be defended. The context makes it clear that *mōrch* must mean, as it does in the next clause, *the former rain*. The meaning of the words *for righteousness* is, however, difficult. The rendering *moderately* (A.V.), or *in just measure* (R.V.), is questionable, for the word *righteousness* in the O.T. always has an ethical sense. Probably *for righteousness* means either—(*a*) in proof of His righteousness or faithfulness to His covenant (Isa. li. 5, 6); or (*b*) in token of

King who will be His earthly representative. Himself He sits to judge the nations. In person He takes up His abode in Zion.

(c) ethical teaching.

Joel has been charged with "a want of ethical interest." The moral element in his prophecy is said to be subordinated to the longing for a national triumph over the heathen. The criticism, I must say, seems to me a shallow one. Repentance deep and sincere is urged upon the people in the strongest terms. The locust plague is viewed as a divine call to return to Jehovah. It is true that repentance is not defined, and that particular sins are not singled out for condemnation. But we cannot tell how far these brief utterances may have been supplemented by oral teaching. *Returning to Jehovah* sums up the duty of His people who had wandered from Him. The promise of the outpouring of the spirit recognises most fully man's need of the infusion of a supernatural life, and his capacity for being raised above his natural self.

The dwelling of Jehovah among His people, which is the final goal of the prophecy, implies that they have been fitted for His immediate presence. And if the relation of Israel to the nations may seem at first sight to be tinged with a spirit of narrow nationalism, it must be remembered that the conflict between Israel and the nations was

your righteousness, *i.e.* your justification and restoration to God's favour (Job xxxiii. 26).

the form in which the great conflict between good and evil, between God and His enemies, presented itself to Joel under the circumstances of his age.

Conclusion.

Thus, then, at the time when Israel was about to come in contact with the great powers of the ancient world, and fainting spirits might be tempted to tremble for the very existence of the people of God, Joel was inspired confidently to predict the final issue of the conflict between the people of God and the powers of the world. Be it never so long delayed, the day of Jehovah must come, when He will be finally triumphant over every enemy. Be His own people never so obstinate, the goal must finally be reached, when the words shall be fulfilled: *Jehovah dwelleth in Zion.*

THE PROPHETS OF THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

AMOS—HOSEA—ISAIAH—MICAH

ὁ δὲ μετ᾽ ἐπιμελείας καὶ προσοχῆς ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς προφητικοῖς λόγοις, παθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἴχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, δι᾽ ὧν πάσχει πεισθήσεται οὐκ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τοὺς πεπιστευμένους Θεοῦ λόγους.

The diligent and attentive student of the words of the prophets will feel from reading them the traces of their inspiration, and from that feeling will be persuaded that what are believed to be the words of God are no mere human compositions.

ORIGENES.

LECTURE IV

AMOS

Let judgement roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.—Amos v. 24.

I

The prophets of the Assyrian period.

Four of the prophets whose writings have been preserved to us belong to what may be termed the Assyrian period: the period in which the Northern Kingdom fell before the advancing armies of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon; and the Southern Kingdom, after becoming a tributary vassal of the great king, only escaped from a like fate by the miraculous intervention of Jehovah for the deliverance of His people. Of these four prophets Amos and Hosea prophesied to Israel, Isaiah and Micah to Judah. Amos and Hosea were in part contemporary, but Amos was somewhat the earlier of the two. They both commenced their ministry in the reign of Jeroboam II; but while there are no indications that any of the extant prophecies of Amos were delivered

after that reign, Hosea's activity certainly continued into the period of political chaos which followed upon the death of that powerful monarch.

II

Date of Amos.

The precise note of time prefixed to the prophecy of Amos (i. 1), *two years before the earthquake*, probably refers to his mission to Bethel (vii. 9 ff.). The memory of that earthquake long survived, preserved possibly by its visible effects;[1] but the date of it is no longer known. We shall not, however, be far wrong if we place the ministry of Amos in the second half of Jeroboam's reign. The victories by which he *restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah*, had already been won when Amos prophesied,[2] and the prosperity which was the result of these successes had already begun to bear evil fruit in the spirit of luxury and overweening self-confidence. If Jeroboam's reign, as seems most probable, lasted until B.C. 749, or even a few years later, the mission of Amos is probably to be placed about B.C. 760. On the other hand, none of Hosea's prophecies can well be later than B.C. 734.[3] Thus the two prophets fall within the same quarter of a century, and though Amos preceded Hosea, it can at the most have been by but a few years.

[1] Zech. xiv. 5; cp. Note B to Lect. XV, p. 478.
[2] Cp. Amos vi. 14 with 2 Kings xiv. 25. [3] See pp. 110 ff.

III

Contrast between Amos and Hosea.

But the recorded prophecies of these two contemporary prophets present a singular contrast, which it is well to bear in mind in studying their books. It cannot be accounted for by the fact that Amos, though he prophesied to Israel, was a native of Judah, while Hosea was a native of the Northern Kingdom; nor need it be supposed that either of them ignored the truths which the other teaches, for Hosea seems to have been acquainted with the writings of Amos.[1] But they offer a remarkable illustration of the principle which it is essential to bear in mind for the study of the Old Testament as well as of the New, that God chooses one man to present one portion or one aspect of the whole sum of truth, and another man to present another portion or another aspect of it. The fourfold Gospel gives a more complete portraiture of our Lord's life and work than a single narrative could have done. St. Peter and St. John, St. James and St. Paul, have each a distinctive and characteristic message to deliver. Perhaps with our present limited faculties we are more impressed by truth when one part of it is presented to us boldly without reserve or qualification, and then another part offered for our accept-

[1] Cp. Hos. viii. 14 with Amos ii. 5; Hos. xii. 9 f. with Amos ii. 10 f.

ance with equal definiteness and emphasis. The teachings which a hasty judgement may pronounce to be contradictory are in fact complementary: conscience, not logic, will adjust the balance between them.

So it is with Amos and Hosea. Amos starts from the thought of the universal sovereignty of Jehovah. He is a preacher of a righteousness. His soul is filled with a sense of the need for justice. He says comparatively little about deeper motives. Humanity in man's dealings with his fellow-man is a universal duty, incumbent upon and recognisable by nations outside the sphere of special revelation. Hosea starts from the thought of Jehovah's relation to Israel. He is the preacher of mercy and loving-kindness. He points to the inner motives of human conduct, and deals with man's duty to his fellow-man in the light of his duty to God and in virtue of God's choice of Israel. His spirit is full of a pathetic tenderness, learnt in the school of sorrow.

IV

Circumstances of the time.

The period in which Amos was called to his prophetic work was one of singular external prosperity for both Israel and Judah. Israel had recently recovered from a state of extreme depression. During the reign of Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Jehu, it had suffered most severely from the Syrians under Hazael and Benhadad III. Hazael took all

the Israelite territory beyond the Jordan, and even captured some cities on the western side of it. The army of Israel was reduced to a nominal strength. Its weakness is indicated by the repeated raids of the Moabites, who penetrated even into the neighbourhood of Samaria (2 Kings x. 32 f.; xiii. 3, 7, 20, 22, 25). The nation seemed to be on the brink of destruction. But the hour of Israel's fall had not yet come. It was to have one more respite.

Stimulated by Elisha's dying charge, Joash, the son and successor of Jehoahaz, recovered the cities which his father had lost to the west of the Jordan. It is probable that these successes were partly due to the fact that the strength of Syria was otherwise occupied in grappling with a new enemy on the north. The Assyrians were advancing southwards. Jehu is named on the 'black obelisk' of Shalmaneser II as having paid him tribute in B.C. 842. But they began by concentrating their attack upon Syria. For the time Damascus served as a barrier to check the tide of their conquests, and their successes relieved Israel from the presence of their formidable neighbours.

Joash, however, did not follow up his victories; and it was reserved for Jeroboam II to be the saviour of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 4 f.; xiv. 26 f.). He assumed the aggressive, recovered the territory of Israel on the east of the Jordan from Hamath in the valley of the Orontes on the north to the Dead Sea on the

south, and even captured Damascus (2 Kings xiv. 25, 28). Almost simultaneously Uzziah was strengthening the power of Judah in the south; and the two kingdoms rose to a pitch of power and prosperity greater than they had enjoyed since the days of Solomon.

Internal condition of Israel.

But prosperity, as it so often has done, brought grave evils in its train. The brief chronicle in the Book of Kings does little more than give a bare outline of the external history. It is from the pages of Amos and Hosea that we must draw the materials for a picture of the actual condition of the people in the Northern Kingdom. There we get a glimpse of a state of society from which the primitive simplicity and equality had disappeared. A class of wealthy nobles had arisen, who had swept the smaller holdings together into vast estates in defiance of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and misused their power to oppress the masses, who had sunk into a condition of poverty and in some cases even actual slavery.[1]

Let us turn to the pages of Amos, and note what he saw beneath the apparent prosperity and external splendour of Jeroboam's reign. The luxury of the rich was conspicuous. They had their winter and summer residences (iii. 15), which were built of hewn stone, panelled with ivory, and furnished with couches inlaid with the same costly material (v. 11; iii. 15; vi. 4), where they feasted and drank to excess amid

[1] See Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. 93.

delicate perfumes, and soft strains of varied music (vi. 4-6). But these luxuries were obtained by means which Amos bluntly calls *violence and robbery* (iii. 10); by oppression of the poor and needy, who were even sold as slaves by their remorseless creditors (ii. 6-8); by dishonest trading, by false weights, and worthless goods (viii. 4-6); by exacting presents and taking bribes (v. 11, 12). Women shewed themselves as cruel and hard-hearted as men, imperiously demanding from their husbands the means for the supply of their luxuries, regardless of the fact that they were to be procured at the expense of the poor and needy (iv. 1).

Public and private virtues alike had decayed. The venality of the judges—that perpetual curse of Oriental countries—was notorious. The poor man need not look for redress in the courts where justice was openly bought and sold (v. 7, 12). Licentiousness of the grossest kind was unblushingly practised (ii. 7). Tradesmen made no secret of their covetousness and dishonesty (viii. 4 ff.). Humane laws were openly ignored (ii. 8).

And withal no reproof of these practices was tolerated. The suggestion of the duty of upright dealing was sufficient to make a man unpopular (v. 10). Engrossed with their own pleasures, the nobles shewed a callous indifference to the moral ruin of their country (vi. 6). Confident in the continuance of a prosperity which they attributed to their own

exertions, they had no fear of impending judgement (vi. 1, 13).

The outward ordinances of worship were zealously observed at the various sanctuaries. Sacrifices and burnt offerings and meal offerings and thank offerings and freewill offerings were brought in abundance. New moons and Sabbaths and festivals were observed. The joyous songs of the worshippers resounded in their sanctuaries (v. 21 ff.; iv. 4 f.; viii. 3, 5, 10). They trusted in the privilege of descent (iii. 2; ix. 7). Was not Jehovah of hosts in their midst? Did they not duly propitiate Him in the manner He desired? Could He possibly desert them? Surely the day, whenever it might come, in which He would manifest His Presence more immediately and visibly, must be a welcome day of blessing for Israel, and discomfiture for Israel's enemies! (v. 14, 18).

V

Personal history of Amos.

Such was the state of society in Northern Israel when Amos was sent on his mission. His home was at Tekoa, about twelve miles south of Jerusalem, whence came the "wise woman" who was employed by Joab to procure Absalom's recall (2 Sam. xiv. 2). He was no prophet by birth or education,[1] but a shepherd or

[1] When Amos disclaims being a prophet's son (vii. 14), he may refer to his natural parentage; but it is certainly possible that he means that he had not been trained in the 'schools of the prophets.' So R.V. marg., *one of the sons of the prophets*. Cp. 1 Kings xx. 35.

herdman,[1] and dresser of sycamore trees, which were cultivated both for their fruit and for their durable wood (1 Chron. xxvii. 28; Isa. ix. 10). He may have partly owned the flocks and the trees which he tended, but the fact that he followed the flock (vii. 15), makes it clear that he was not a wealthy noble, but a yeoman like Elisha who worked upon his own farm, or perhaps of still humbler position. The language of his prophecy bears numerous traces of the character of his occupation. The significance of the phenomena of nature, familiar to one whose life was spent in the open air, impressed itself deeply upon him (iv. 13; v. 8; ix. 5, 6). The waggon loaded with sheaves (ii. 13); the lion growling over his prey (iii. 4); the remnants of his prey recovered by the shepherd out of the lion's mouth (iii. 12); the bear, more formidable to the shepherd than even the lion (v. 19); the snares set for birds (iii. 5); ploughing (vi. 12); cattle-driving (iv. 3); corn-winnowing (ix. 9); the locusts devouring the aftermath (vii. 1 ff.); the basket of summer fruit (viii. 1 ff.),—supply him with imagery which he uses with perfect naturalness, as might be expected from one who was brought up to the calling of a shepherd and husbandman.

[1] In ch. i. 1 he is said to have been *among the shepherds of Tekoa*. The term *nōḳēd* here used occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament only in 2 Kings iii. 4, where it is applied to Mesha (A.V. *sheepmaster*). It appears to denote the owner or keeper of a particular breed of sheep or goats, small and ugly, but valuable for their wool. In ch. vii. 14, 15, Amos describes himself as a *herdman*, and says that Jehovah took him *from following the flock*.

His mission to Beth-el.

At the divine call Amos left his flocks and herds and sycamore groves at Tekoa, and journeyed to Beth-el. There, under the shadow of the royal palace and sanctuary, he publicly delivered his message.[1] How much of the book as we now have it was thus orally delivered, we cannot tell. But no doubt the substance of the prophecy against Israel which occupies the greater part of it was actually spoken. The climax was reached when he foretold the destruction of the sanctuaries of Israel, the fall of the house of Jeroboam, and the captivity of the people. Amaziah the priest of Beth-el interposed, and sent word to Jeroboam, charging Amos with treason. Amaziah evidently dared not lay violent hands on the sacrosanct person of a prophet without the king's authority. But he strove to silence the unwelcome visitor, and bade him flee to his own home, and prophesy there. Amos defended his action. It was no self-chosen task, but one imposed upon him, contrary to all expectation, by a divine mandate which he could not resist. And he pronounces a solemn sentence upon Amaziah. Though he might now be able to silence the prophet, he was destined himself to experience the fulfilment of his words.

[1] It is possible that he went as far as Samaria. The addresses in chaps. iii-vi seem, in part at least, more suitable to Samaria than to Beth-el. See iii. 9 ; iv. 1 ; vi. 1.

VI

The Book of Amos.

It seems probable that Amos went home to Tekoa, and there committed his prophecies to writing. The book bears evidence of more orderly and systematic arrangement than would be likely to have characterised the spoken prophecies.[1] In particular, the prophecies against surrounding nations, and against Judah, with which it opens, would scarcely have been spoken in Beth-el. If, as there seems no reason to doubt, the title is from the prophet's own hand, at least two years must have elapsed before it was completed.

The prophecies against the nations. Chaps. i, ii.

The series of prophecies against the nations which forms the prologue to the book is noteworthy, alike for the view of the universal sovereignty of Jehovah which it presents, and for the doctrine of the moral responsibility of the heathen which it assumes. Here, in the earliest of the prophets whose date is universally acknowledged, Jehovah is already presented to view as the supreme Ruler of the world. He is not Israel's God alone, though He is Israel's God in a special sense, for He has chosen Israel out of all the families of the earth to be His own people. But He who is the all-sovereign Creator of the universe, orders the migrations of the nations, and cares for their welfare. It is He who

[1] See Note A, p. 107.

brought up the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir, not less than Israel from the land of Egypt (ix. 7). He has the right and the power to punish them for their offences. What then are the offences of which they have been guilty? In part no doubt it is for hostility to Israel that they are condemned; but in the main it is for inhumanity, for breaches of those natural laws of piety written in the heart and conscience of man, by which the relation of man to man and nation to nation ought to be governed. The gravamen of the offence lies in its character, not in the fact that it is committed against Jehovah's people. Thus Syria is condemned for the barbarous destructiveness of its wars against Gilead; Philistia for merciless deportation of captives into slavery; Tyre for a like offence, aggravated by the forgetfulness of the brotherly covenant made by Hiram with David and Solomon; Edom for pitiless hostility, and that against his own brother; Ammon for savage brutality in warfare; Moab, most notable instance of all, for an act of senseless insult, which violated the natural laws of respect for the dead. The condemnation of these nations implies that even the heathen possessed some knowledge of right, which carried with it a corresponding degree of moral responsibility. The violation of the natural laws of humanity written in their hearts demands punishment. They are capable of exercising moral judgements. Even the Philistines and

Egyptians are summoned as witnesses of the wrongs which are perpetrated in Samaria (iii. 9).

With Judah and Israel it is otherwise. Judah is condemned for disregard of the divine revelation made to it: *because they have rejected the law of Jehovah, and have not kept His statutes, and their lies,* the false gods which they have chosen, *have caused them to err* (ii. 4). Israel is condemned for inhumanity and debauchery; and their misconduct is aggravated by forgetfulness of all that Jehovah had done for them in bringing them out of Egypt, and establishing them in the land of Canaan. They have been admonished by a succession of prophets; but they have silenced the prophets whose rebukes disturbed their complacency. They have had the Nazarites before their eyes as a standing example of self-control, but they had done their best to corrupt those whose ascetic lives were a constant rebuke of their self-indulgence (ii. 6-12). *Judah and Israel.*

VII

The storm of judgement which has swept over the surrounding nations from north to south, and from west to east, remains suspended in all its intensity over Israel. It was to Israel that Amos was specially sent, and upon them the full force of his moral indignation is let loose. The sins which were rife in the state of society which has already been *Israel's sins. Chaps. iii–ix.*

described—covetousness and dishonesty, cruel treatment of the poor and defenceless, open violation of humane laws, perversion of justice, selfish and idle luxury, immorality and profanity—all in succession are dragged to the light and unsparingly denounced. Repeated chastisements have had no effect upon them (iv. 6 ff.): they are ripe for judgement; let them prepare to meet their God; to seek Him is the one condition of life; and if they do not seek Him, He will break forth as a consuming fire that none can quench.

By the side of Israel's moral offences, their ceremonial errors fall comparatively into the background. Amos goes to the root of the matter, and deals with the attitude of the people's heart and will towards Jehovah. How could any worship, offered by hands so stained with sin, from hearts so absolutely indifferent not merely to Jehovah's known requirements, but to the common dictates of morality, be possibly acceptable? But it is scarcely true to say that Amos "expresses no dread of the religious symbolism prevalent in Northern Israel"; that "like Elijah and Elisha, he lets the golden calves pass without a word of protest."[1] Elijah and Elisha were face to face with the graver question whether Baal or Jehovah was to be Israel's God. Amos was face to face with the scarcely less grave moral question, what concep-

[1] Cheyne, *Hosea*, p. 31. See Davidson's criticism in *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. v, pp. 174 ff.

tion Israel formed of Jehovah and His requirements. This question overshadows everything else. But apart from the indispensable moral conditions of true worship, it is clear that he regards the worship carried on in sanctuaries of their own choice, with ceremonies of their own devising, as no true seeking of Jehovah. Their altars are to be destroyed. *In the day that I shall visit the transgressions of Israel upon him, I will also visit the altars of Beth-el, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground* (iii. 14). Or again: *Seek ye Me, and ye shall live: but seek not Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Beth-el shall come to nought* (v. 4). Ironically he exhorts them: *Come to Beth-el, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days; and offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened, and proclaim freewill offerings and publish them* (iv. 4, 5). It may be doubtful whether *the sin of Samaria* means the calf of Beth-el or the Asherah which was still standing in Samaria (2 Kings xiii. 6); but the worshippers of the calves are certainly included in the prophet's threat, *They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, As thy God, O Dan, liveth; and, As the way of Beer-sheba liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again* (viii. 14). And the last vision (ix. 1 ff.) presents a graphic picture of the worshippers buried under the ruins of the Temple in

which they are assembled for worship. "These passages," says Professor Davidson, "appear to carry in them a formal repudiation of the calves. . . . If the prophet's language be not a verbal protest against the calf worship, it is because it is a great deal more ; it is a protest which goes much deeper than the calves, and is directed to something behind them. The calves, and the whole ritual service as it was practised, were but symptoms of that which gave offence to the prophets, which was the spirit of the worship, the mind of the worshippers, the conception of Deity which they had in worshipping, and to which they offered their worship. Jehovah distinguishes between this service and the worship of HIM. *Seek Me, and seek not to Beth-el.*"[1]

Israel's self-delusion.

In the midst of all their moral depravity, and failures to recognise Jehovah's character, they still claimed to be His people, and imagined themselves to be entitled to His favour. *Jehovah, the God of hosts, is with us*, was their favourite watchword (v. 14). They *desired the day of Jehovah* (v. 18). It was inconceivable that He should manifest Himself otherwise than as the champion of His own people and the destroyer of their enemies. It must have been a rude shock to the easy-going security of the Israelites to learn that just because they were Jehovah's people He intended to punish them. *You only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore I*

[1] *Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. v, p. 175.

will visit upon you all your iniquities (iii. 2). All that He had done for them in delivering them from the bondage of Egypt, and leading them through the wilderness, and destroying the gigantic Amorites before them, ought to have bound them to grateful service. At least, if they did not recognise the claim to gratitude, it would have been the part of prudence to fear the Almighty Creator of the universe (iv. 13; v. 8; ix. 6).

Jehovah's requirements.

Jehovah's requirements are few and simple. *Seek good and not evil. . . . Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgement in the gate* (v. 14, 15). *Let judgement roll down as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream* (v. 24). Requirements few and simple, yet difficult, because they cut clean across the ingrained selfishness of the human heart, and demanded nothing less than a complete reversal of their present principles of action.

The impending judgement.

Seek Jehovah; seek good; that ye may live, is the burden of the prophet's message. He sets before them life and death; and if they will not choose the way of life, the punishment cannot be averted. Once and again at the intercession of the prophet Jehovah repents Him of the evil (vii. 1-6). But the end must come. Judgement cannot be deferred (vii. 7 ff.; viii. 1 ff.). The sinful kingdom must be destroyed from off the face of the earth. Jehovah's character must be vindicated in the sight of all the nations. The instrument of chastisement is at hand. Amos does

not name them, but no doubt he has the Assyrians in view. The Syrians had been a formidable enemy, but a still more formidable and irresistible power was arising in the distant north (v. 27; vi. 14).

The restoration.

Yet co-ordinately with the prediction of judgement we meet with the promise of restoration. Though the sinful kingdom must be destroyed, the house of Jacob will not be utterly destroyed. When the house of Israel is sifted among all the nations, as corn is sifted in a sieve, the least grain shall not fall upon the ground. Only the self-confident sinners, who deny the possibility of a judgement, will perish (ix. 8-10). Then the ancient glory of the Davidic kingdom will be restored; a reunited, purified Israel will once more possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations which Jehovah had claimed as His own.[1] Israel will be restored to its own land, and dwell there securely in the enjoyment of undisturbed prosperity. The curse of barrenness will be removed: the land will be enriched with the blessings of exuberant fertility (ix. 11-15).

VIII

Theology of Amos.

The dominant idea in the theology of Amos is the sovereignty of Jehovah in nature and in history. *The Lord*, or *the Lord Jehovah*, or *the God of hosts*, are his favourite titles for God;[2] and whatever may

[1] With ix. 12 cp. Deut. xxviii. 10. [2] See Note B, p. 108.

have been the origin of the title *Jehovah of hosts,* it can hardly be doubted that the Septuagint rendering *Lord all-sovereign* (κύριος παντοκράτωρ) rightly represents the sense in which the prophets employed it to designate Jehovah as the Ruler of the hosts of heaven and earth. In three passages Amos breaks out into a sublime apostrophe of the sovereign Creator. When he bids Israel prepare to meet its God, he would startle them into repentance by bringing home to them the conviction of what He is Whose name is *Jehovah, the God of Hosts.* He it is Who formed the solid mountains and created the subtle wind, Who reveals to man His thoughts in His works and by His prophets, Who turns the light of dawn into darkness, and makes the high places of the earth as it were the footstool of His feet (iv. 13).

When he bids Israel seek Jehovah if they would live and not die, he draws as it were two portraits, and hangs them up one over against the other. On the one side there are the men who *turn judgement to wormwood, and cast righteousness down to the ground:* on the other there is *the maker of the Pleiades and Orion,* Who *turns the deepest gloom into morning, and makes day as dark as night; Who calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them over the face of the earth; Jehovah is His name; Who flashes destruction upon the strong, so that destruction comes upon the fortress* (v. 7 ff.). This is the God with whom these daring sinners have to do.

Do they doubt His power to overtake them, though they should bury themselves in the lowest depths of Sheol, or scale the topmost heights of heaven? He *Who touches the land and it melts away, and all its inhabitants mourn*, is none other than He *Who builds His chambers in the heaven, and founds His vault upon the earth, and calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them out upon the face of the earth* (ix. 6).

He is, as we have seen already, the God of history, Who orders the migrations of the nations, Who claims the right and has the power to judge them for their breaches of the common law which He has written in their hearts.

But in a special way He has revealed Himself to Israel. In one sense Israel is but as one of the nations whose destinies He has guided. *Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto Me, O children of Israel?* (ix. 7). But in another sense Israel is the only nation which He has *known*,[1] chosen and acknowledged as peculiarly His own. He has sent them prophets, and the prophets are His servants, to whom He reveals His secret counsel (ii. 11; iii. 7).

His moral character is shewn in His denunciation of Israel's conduct, and in those demands of goodness, judgement, and righteousness, of which we have already spoken.

[1] Cp. the use of the word in Gen. xviii. 19 of the call of Abraham.

Amos' eschatology.

The eschatology of Amos is of the simplest character. The picture of Israel's future which he draws in the concluding verses of the book is, like that of Joel,[1] a picture of purely temporal felicity. Sinners will be destroyed in the judgement which is impending; while the sound grain will be preserved out of which a renewed people is to spring (ix. 9, 10). But he casts no light on the deeper problem, how sin is to be atoned for and eradicated. He looks apparently for this restoration to follow at no long interval upon the judgement which is to fall upon Israel from the Assyrians.

Amos has no prediction of a personal Messiah. But it is noteworthy that he does connect the hope of the future with the house of David. This is to be restored to its pristine glory, and through its restoration blessing comes to the reunited nation which exercises a sovereignty over surrounding nations as of old. He is still the representative of a rudimentary stage of prophetic revelation, to be enlarged, developed, spiritualised by his successors; to be fulfilled not indeed in the letter, but in the spirit.

IX

Place of Amos in the religious history of Israel.

But though in some respects the teaching of Amos is of a simple and rudimentary character, his

[1] To whose words he seems to allude, cp. Amos ix. 13 with Joel iii. 18. See above, pp. 63 ff.

book offers a complete refutation of the theory that his prophecy marks an entirely new departure in the religious history of Israel. He, in common with the other prophets of the eighth century,[1] is, as I have already observed (p. 26 ff.), a reformer and not a founder. If the people had no knowledge of the moral demands of Jehovah, how could they justly be blamed for disregarding them? Amos refers to prophets who had preceded him, and betrays no sense of any discontinuity between their teaching and his own (ii. 11; iii. 7). With all their faults, men desire to hear the words of Jehovah. They are their spiritual food, and the spiritual 'famine' which will ensue upon the withdrawal of prophetic teaching, which is threatened as part of Israel's punishment, will be recognised as a grievous evil (viii. 11 ff.).

It is instructive to observe the knowledge which Amos himself shews, and which he presumes in his hearers. He implies a familiarity with the history of Jacob and Esau (i. 11). *Moab shall die with tumult* (ii. 2) may possibly be a reference to the phrase *sons of tumult* in Balaam's prophecy of the destruction of Moab (Num. xxiv. 17, R.V.). He condemns (ii. 8) the breach of the humane law concerning pledges, which is found in Exod. xxii. 26. He speaks of the forty years of wandering in the wilderness, and the gigantic stature of the Amorites

[1] I do not refer to the evidence of Obadiah and Joel, because their dates are disputed.

(ii. 9, 10). He knows the fame of David as a musician (vi. 5). This simple countryman is acquainted with the history of his nation and understands its religious significance. He expects his hearers and readers to know it, for he refers to these things incidentally and cursorily, as to matters with which they would be familiar; and he refers to events outside his own nation. The fate of Calneh and Hamath, the origin of the Philistines and the Syrians, have their warning and their interest for him. The natural inference is that the class of yeomen, possibly even of peasants, to which Amos belonged, was by no means an uninstructed class. How far the ancient history of the nation had been already committed to writing, or how far it was still preserved by oral tradition, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. But if, as there seems no reason to doubt, Amos committed his own prophecy to writing, it is at least probable that some historical records already existed in a written form.

The law and the statutes of Jehovah are presumed to be known, for Judah is condemned for having forsaken them and followed false gods (*their lies*) like their fathers (ii. 4).[1] The existence of a ritual law is implied in the condemnation of the offering of leavened sacrifices on the altar (iv. 5);[2] and the

[1] It is wholly arbitrary to condemn this passage as a 'Deuteronomic' interpolation.

[2] Lit. *burn a thank offering of leaven.* Cakes of leavened bread were *presented* as part of the sacrifice of peace offerings (Lev. vii.

sanctity of the holy land in comparison with foreign countries is presupposed when Amaziah is condemned, as part of his punishment, to die *in a land that is unclean* (vii. 17; cp. Hos. ix. 3).

New moons and Sabbaths were observed by abstinence from business, even by those who had no heart in the observance (viii. 5); feasts and solemn assemblies were frequented (v. 21; viii. 10); sacrifices, burnt offerings, meal offerings, peace offerings, freewill offerings were offered (v. 22; iv. 5); tithes were paid (iv. 4).

Permanent lessons of the book.

The Book of Amos teaches, with singular clearness and force, truths which can never become superfluous or obsolete. The truths that justice between man and man is one of the divine foundations of society; that privilege implies responsibility, and that failure to recognise responsibility will surely bring punishment; that nations, and by analogy, individuals, are bound to live up to that measure of light and knowledge which has been granted to them; that the most elaborate worship is but an insult to God when offered by those who have no mind to conform their wills and conduct to His requirements; —these are elementary but eternal truths.

13), but no leaven was ever to be burnt (Lev. ii. 11). Such a ritual impropriety would seem to be of small moment. The allusion to it implies the existence of a ritual law, to which much importance was attached.

Note A.

Structure of the Book of Amos.

The Book of Amos may be divided as follows :—

(i) Chaps. i, ii. The Prologue.

The title and preface[1] (i. 1, 2) are followed by denunciations of judgement against six neighbouring nations (i. 3–ii. 3) ; upon Judah (ii. 4, 5) ; and lastly, in more detail, upon Israel (ii. 6–16). Each begins, *Thus saith Jehovah.*

(ii) Chaps. iii–vi.

A series of addresses, three of which begin *Hear ye this word* (iii. 1 ; iv. 1 ; v. 1), and end with a threat introduced by *Therefore* (iii. 11 ; iv. 12 ; v. 11, 16) ; and two begin with *Woe* (v. 18 ; vi. 1). In these the crimes and the impending punishment of Israel are set forth at length.

(iii) Chaps. vii. 1–ix. 10.

Further threatenings of judgement in the form of five visions. After the third follows the narrative of Amos' experience at Beth-el (vii. 10 ff.) ; and after the fourth a repeated rebuke of the sins of the people (viii. 4 ff.).

(iv) Chap. ix. 11–15. The Epilogue.

The promise of the restoration of the House of David, and the renewed happiness of Israel in their own land under Jehovah's protection.

---

[1] Comp. Joel iii. 16.

Note B.

Names of God in Amos.

(1) Jehovah [the LORD] alone, commonly, as in other prophets.

(2) *The Lord Jehovah* [*Adōnai Jehovah:* A.V. *the Lord* GOD[1]] is his favourite title, occurring twenty times. Ch. i. 8; iii. 7, 8, 11, 13; iv. 2, 5; v. 3; vi. 8; vii. 1, 2, 4 (twice), 5, 6; viii. 1, 3, 9, 11; ix. 8.

The Lord [*Adōnai*] only, vii. 7, 8; ix. 1.

(3) The following combinations should be noted:—

Jehovah the God of hosts [A.V. *the* LORD, *the God of hosts*], iv. 13; v. 14, 15; vi. 8, 14; and more emphatically, *Jehovah, whose name is the God of hosts*, v. 27.

The Lord, Jehovah of hosts, ix. 5.

The Lord Jehovah, the God of hosts, iii. 13.

Jehovah, the God of hosts, the Lord, v. 16.

Note that *Lord* never occurs in Hosea, and *God of hosts* only once (xii. 5).

---

[1] Readers of the English will remember that, both in A.V. and in R.V., GOD and LORD printed in capitals represent the sacred name JHVH, which from early times was not pronounced by the Jews in reading the Scriptures. In place of that ineffable Name was read *Adōnai*=Lord, or when *Adōnai* is coupled with it, *Elōhīm*=God. Thus "the LORD God" (Gen. ii. 4)=*Jehovah Elōhīm;* "Lord GOD" (Gen. xv. 2)=*Adōnai Jehovah;* "GOD the Lord" (Ps. lxviii. 20)=*Jehovah Adōnai*. In A.V. *Jehovah*, standing alone, is occasionally represented by GOD (Gen. vi. 5; 2 Sam. xii. 22).

LECTURE V

HOSEA

I desire lovingkindness, and not sacrifice; and knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.—HOSEA vi. 6.

I

HOSEA was a younger contemporary of Amos, and an older contemporary of Isaiah and Micah. According to the title prefixed to his book, *the word of Jehovah* came to him *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel.* It seems to be tolerably certain that this is a composite title. The latter part of it probably belonged in the first instance only to the first division of the book (chaps. i-iii); while the earlier part was added, perhaps by the editor of the collection of the Minor Prophets, to indicate that Hosea prophesied in the same period as Isaiah and Micah.[1] It need not be strained to mean that Hosea's ministry extended over the whole period covered by the reigns of these four kings of

Date of Hosea. B.C. 755-740.

[1] Comp. Isa. i. 1; Mic. i. 1.

Judah. In fact it seems hardly possible that it can have done so. Internal evidence proves that while the greater part of the book must be assigned to a time subsequent to the reign of Jeroboam II, no part of it can well be so late as the reign of Hezekiah or even of Ahaz.

(1) Chaps. i-iii in the reign of Jeroboam.

The book falls into two well-marked divisions. Chaps. i-iii are complete in themselves. They belong evidently to the reign of Jeroboam. For they predict the downfall of the house of Jehu (i. 4), a prediction which was fulfilled when after a brief reign of six months Jeroboam's son and successor Zechariah lost his throne and his life by Shallum's conspiracy.[1] They were written in a time of prosperity, which, however, it is predicted, would not last much longer. Corn and wine, silver and gold, were still abundant (ii. 8 ff.), but Israel was soon to be deprived of the blessings which it had misused, and the true Giver of which it had ignored. The reign of Jeroboam was, as we have seen, a time of such prosperity. But it speedily came to an end after his death. We can thus hardly be wrong in referring the first three chapters of Hosea to the closing years of his reign, about 755-749 B.C.

(2) Chaps. iv-xiv after Jeroboam's death.

The second division (chaps. iv-xiv) evidently be-

[1] See 2 Kings xv. 10. The expression rendered *before the people* is a very strange one; and we should probably adopt Grätz's brilliant conjecture, *in Ibleam*, which involves an extremely slight change in the letters of the text. Ibleam was in the plain of Jezreel (2 Kings ix. 27). See Driver in *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. v, p. 259.

longs to a later period. It contains clear indications of the state of anarchy and misrule into which the Northern Kingdom fell upon Jeroboam's death.[1] But it is at the latest anterior to the fall of Samaria, which is predicted as still future (xiii. 16); and it must in all probability be placed considerably earlier than that event. It shews no trace of the circumstances which called forth the great prophecies of Isaiah vii. ff. There is no allusion to the coalition of Pekah and Rezin to dethrone Ahaz. The direct consequence of their action was that Ahaz appealed to Assyria for help, and Pul or Tiglath-Pileser III[2] responded to his appeal by ravaging and depopulating northern Palestine, Galilee, and Gilead. To this grave disaster Hosea makes no allusion. The punishment of Israel's sins is imminent, but it is still future. Gilead is spoken of as being still a part of the Northern Kingdom (vi. 8; xii. 11; contrast Mic. vii. 14). Assyria is nowhere regarded as a present and actual enemy, but as a worthless and dangerous ally, to whose support a faction in the country was appealing (v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9; xii. 1; xiv. 3). Now this was precisely the position of affairs in the reign of Menahem. He

[1] See *e.g.* vii. 7; viii. 3 f.; x. 3, 15; xiii. 10 f.

[2] The identification of Pul with Tiglath-Pileser has been corroborated by the discovery of the name *Pûlu* in a list of Babylonian kings, while in the Babylonian Chronicle *Tuklat-abul-isarra* (=Tiglath-Pileser) is given as king for the same years. Pul appears to have been the Babylonian substitute for the name Tiglath-Pileser (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, E.T. i, p. xxxii).

was a military adventurer, who waded through blood to the throne, upon which he could only maintain himself by purchasing the support of Tiglath-Pileser, and practically becoming a vassal of Assyria (2 Kings xv. 14 ff., 19 ff.). But with the accession of Pekah the political situation was completely changed. We may therefore with some confidence conclude that Hosea's public ministry was closed, and in all probability his book written, before B.C. 734, when Pekah and Rezin invaded Judah.[1]

II

Circumstances of the time.

We must now recall the circumstances under which Hosea exercised his ministry. We have already had occasion to consider the characteristics of the reign of Jeroboam II in connexion with the prophecy of Amos (pp. 86 ff.). On the death of that powerful monarch the great kingdom which he had built up fell speedily into ruin. After six months'

[1] If Shalman who spoiled Beth-arbel (x. 14) could be identified with Shalmaneser the successor of Tiglath-Pileser, the book would be brought down to a date after B.C. 727. But the identification is improbable. *Salamanu* appears on the monuments as the name of a Moabite king; there was an *Arbela* on the east of Jordan, and it is far more likely that the incident referred to occurred in one of the savage wars between Moab and Gilead. See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 440. Professor Sayce (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i, p. 162 ff.) endeavours to shew that Hosea's prophecies belong in part to the very last years of the Northern Kingdom, immediately before the fall of Samaria, and conjectures that *Jareb* (v. 13; x. 6) may have been the natal name of Sargon; but the arguments stated above appear to me conclusive in favour of the earlier date.

reign in Samaria his son and successor Zechariah was slain by Shallum, and the dynasty of Jehu came to an end. But the usurper could not keep the throne which he had seized. Menahem had apparently already established himself in the once important city of Tirzah, and marching thence against Samaria, took it and slew Shallum. A few brief sentences suggest the horrors of the civil war which followed, and the brutal vengeance which Menahem inflicted on those who had refused to take his side (2 Kings xv. 16). But he could not secure his throne without external aid. Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria, invaded Israel. Menahem purchased his support with the sum of a thousand talents, which he raised by a tax upon the owners of property, and submitted to the indignity of holding his throne as the creature and vassal of the king of Assyria. He reigned for ten years, and left his throne to his son Pekahiah. But after two years civil war broke out again. Pekah, one of his generals, with a band of Gileadites, murdered him in his palace, and seized the throne.

At this point the political relations of the nations underwent a change. Pekah allied himself with Rezin the king of Syria to attack Ahaz, and set a creature of their own, the son of Tabeel, upon the throne of Judah. Ahaz appealed to Assyria for help, offering his submission as a vassal, and sending a large subsidy. Tiglath-Pileser invaded Syria, slew Rezin, took Damascus, and deported the inhabitants to Kir.

But first he had attacked Israel, ravaged northern Palestine both east and west of the Jordan, and carried the inhabitants away to Assyria. Pekah, defeated and discredited, lost his throne and life in the conspiracy of Hoshea, who in his turn ascended the throne as a vassal of Assyria. It is difficult to determine the precise course of events, but it is clear that sooner or later Hoshea made overtures to So[1] the king of Egypt, and ceased to send his tribute to Assyria. Shalmaneser promptly dethroned and imprisoned his rebellious vassal. Samaria fell after a three years' siege, begun by Shalmaneser, and completed by his successor Sargon in B.C. 722. The kingdom of Israel was at an end. The Israelites were transported to the far east, to the districts between the Tigris and Euphrates, and even to the remoter Media, while their old home was peopled with colonists from Babylonian cities conquered by Assyria. The Israelites who were left in the land intermingled with their heathen neighbours. A nominal worship of Jehovah was continued side by side with the worship of heathen deities. But the national existence of Israel was at an end. Henceforward all the hopes of the chosen people centred in Judah.

Thus the ruin of Israel was precipitated by internal feuds coinciding with the advance of external

[1] It is generally thought that the name *So* (2 Kings xvii. 4) should be read *Sĕvĕ*, and that *Sĕvĕ* may be identified with the powerful Ethiopian king of Egypt *Shebek I* or *Sabaco*. But the identification has recently been questioned.

enemies. Four out of the six kings who succeeded Jeroboam died violent deaths. Hoshea ended his days as a captive. Menahem alone "slept with his fathers," and left his kingdom to his son. The throne was seized by a succession of military adventurers, who were not strong enough to maintain themselves on it without foreign aid. They did not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of their country to their own selfish schemes of aggrandisement. The independence of the nation once lost, its downfall was rapid and irrevocable.

III

The history illustrated by Hosea.

The pages of Hosea cast a lurid light upon the condition of Israel during the ten or fifteen years which followed the death of Jeroboam. The evils which Amos condemned have become rapidly worse. In the first division of the prophecy (chaps. i-iii) the nation is described as still outwardly prosperous. But it has practically deserted Jehovah. It ascribes its blessings to the false gods which it worships. It is ripe for punishment, which will speedily fall upon it. It is pre-eminently the religious apostasy of the nation which is denounced in these chapters.

But the second division of the book, which belongs to the later period of Hosea's ministry, presents a series of pictures of the social, moral, and religious condition of Israel during the ten or fifteen years after Jeroboam's death, not less graphic than those

drawn by Amos, and far more appalling. From the highest to the lowest the nation is represented as being utterly corrupt. The king and the princes amuse themselves with the people's misdoings instead of restraining them. The princes are plunged in debauchery. The king is the intimate companion of 'scorners,' who prided themselves on their cynical contempt for virtue and religion. What wonder if such a populace turns to destroy such kings! (vii. 2 ff.). What wonder if, with all these internal dissensions, Ephraim's strength is devoured by strangers, and he grows prematurely old! (vii. 9). A degenerate priesthood rejoices in the sins of the people, because they augment their revenues (iv. 8), instead of rebuking them, as they were in duty bound to do. Nay, the priest turns bandit on his own account (vi. 9). Virtue has perished out of the land. *There is no truth, and no lovingkindness, and no knowledge of God in the land.* Every form of vice has taken its place. *There is nought but swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery.* One act of violence follows close upon another. *They break out, and blood toucheth blood* (iv. 1, 2; cp. vi. 8; vii. 1; x. 4; xi. 12). Sin is universal (viii. 1).

There is a nominal regard for Jehovah. *My God, we Israel know Thee,* is the popular cry (viii. 2). Sacrifices in abundance are offered to Jehovah, but He will not accept such merely formal worship (v. 6; viii. 13); for in reality they have forgotten Him, and abandoned

themselves to licentious and degrading superstitions (iv. 6, 10, 12, 13; vi. 6, 7; viii. 11-14; x. 1, 8; xi. 2; xiii. 2). This forgetfulness of Jehovah is the root-evil of all. When danger threatens they look to Assyria or Egypt for help instead of turning in repentance to Jehovah (v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9). They will not tolerate rebuke (iv. 4), but persecute and despise the prophets which are sent to them (ix. 7, 8). For such a nation nothing remains but judgement sharp and speedy.

IV

Hosea a native of the Northern Kingdom.

Such were the conditions under which Hosea had to deliver his message. Like Amos he prophesied to the Northern Kingdom. He only casts side glances, sometimes of encouragement and approval, sometimes of warning and rebuke, at Judah. But while Amos was a stranger, sent upon a temporary mission only, all indications combine to shew that Hosea was a native of Israel, bound to the kingdom whose ruin he had to predict by the closest ties of sympathetic patriotism. He has been called the Jeremiah of the Northern Kingdom; and the numerous allusions to his book in Jeremiah[1] make it evident, as we might expect, that it was a favourite study of that prophet. "In every sentence it appears that Hosea had

[1] Cp. Jer. iii. 22 with Hos. xiv. 1, 4; Jer. iv. 3 with x. 12; Jer. v. 30; xviii. 13; xxiii. 14 with vi. 10; Jer. vii. 9 with iv. 2; Jer. ix. 12 with xiv. 9; Jer. xiv. 10 with viii. 13; ix. 9; Jer. xxx. 9 with iii. 5; Jer. xxx. 22 with ii. 23.

not merely visited the kingdom of Ephraim, as Amos had done, but that he is acquainted with it from the depths of his heart, and follows all its doings, aims, and fortunes, with the profound feelings gendered of such a sympathy as is conceivable in the case of a native prophet only"[1] He shews, as we have seen, complete familiarity with the internal condition of the kingdom; with the depth and hopelessness of its social corruption; with the crimes of its kings, its nobles, and its priests; with its foreign relations, such as the various intrigues for alliance with Egypt or Assyria; with the deep-seated religious apostasy which united a nominal worship of Jehovah in a corrupt and idolatrous form with Baal worship and an utter disregard for morality. The picture is drawn with a force and feeling which attest an eye-witness; and an eye-witness who does not merely view things from the outside as a stranger, but is keenly and bitterly alive to the sense that his own country is being dragged headlong down to ruin by the sins and crimes which he rebukes but cannot reform. So strong is the impression produced by the general drift of the prophecy, that it is scarcely necessary to point to the special allusions which stamp it as the work of an Ephraimite. The places which Hosea mentions are all in the Northern Kingdom. Lebanon supplies him with imagery (xiv. 5-7); Mizpah in Gilead and Tabor in Galilee repre-

[1] Ewald, *Prophets*, vol. i, p. 211 (E.T.).

sent the land from east to west (v. 1); Samaria is frequently mentioned (vii. 1; viii. 5, 6; x. 5, 7; xiii. 16), Jerusalem not once; Gilead (vi. 8; xii. 11), Shechem (vi. 9, R.V.), Gilgal (iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 11), Beth-el, sometimes sarcastically called Beth-aven, for *the house of God* has been turned into *the house of vanity* or idol-worship (iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, 8, 15), Jezreel (i. 5), Gibeah (v. 8; ix. 9; x. 9), Ramah (v. 8), are among the places referred to. The name Ephraim occurs no less than thirty-seven times.

Distinctive features of language are less numerous than might have been expected; but certain peculiarities of style and diction appear to belong to the northern dialect. Others possibly have been eliminated by scribes in the course of the transmission of the text.

V

Hosea's life-history.

Hosea's personal history supplies the master-key to his teaching. Jehovah's loving faithfulness to Israel, and Israel's thankless unfaithfulness to Jehovah, are the ideas which permeate and give unity to the whole book. These ideas had been branded upon Hosea's inmost soul by his own domestic experience. With delicate touch and entire absence of self-consciousness, almost as if he reflected upon it from the outside, he tells the sad story, and reveals the secret of his life. *When Jehovah began to speak to Hosea, He said to him, Go, take thee a whorish wife*

and whorish children; for the land goeth utterly a whoring from following Jehovah. So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim (i. 2, 3). She bore him children, to whom, in obedience to the divine command, he gave names which made them, like Isaiah's children, living witnesses to their father's message. *Jezreel* signified that a day of vengeance was at hand for the house of Jehu in the valley of Jezreel, to avenge the wanton bloodshed of Jehu in Jezreel. *Lo-ruhamah*, or *Unpitied*, betokened that Israel's day of grace was drawing to a close, and that Jehovah would no longer shew mercy to the house of Israel, and pardon their transgressions. *Lo-ammi*, that is, *Not-my-people*, declared that Israel had forfeited its position as the people of Jehovah, and that He would no more be their God.

But Gomer proved faithless to her marriage vow. Ensnared perhaps by the wild orgies of Baal and Ashtoreth, she deserted her husband. She fell at last into slavery.[1] But in this her lowest degradation her husband does not abandon her. By divine com-

[1] Ch. iii records the second act of the tragedy. *The woman loving a paramour, and an adulteress* (read the active participle with the LXX), can be no other than Gomer. If the relation of Jehovah to Israel is symbolised by Hosea's marriage with Gomer, and Israel's unfaithfulness is represented by her adultery, then Jehovah's unbroken love for Israel and determination to recover Israel in spite of its apostasy can only be symbolised by the prophet's recovery of Gomer. That she had fallen into slavery must be inferred from his purchasing her. The sum paid, partly in money and partly in kind, was about thirty shekels, the value of an ordinary slave (Exod. xxi. 32; Zech. xi. 12).

mand he redeems her from bondage, and brings her home again. There he keeps her in a stern seclusion, depriving her of the liberty which she had so wantonly abused, and not yet restoring her to the full rights of a wife; but watching over her, until her affection for him should revive. A touching picture, is it not, of the prophet watching with unabated love over the guilty wife of his youth; waiting patiently, if peradventure tears of penitence might cleanse her sin-stained soul, and her heart again respond to his untiring love?

Such I believe to be the outline of Hosea's personal history. And so he learnt, in the bitterness of his own domestic trial, something of the unquenchable love of Jehovah for Israel, something of the cruel wrong of Israel's unfaithfulness towards Jehovah.

The 'moral difficulty.'

But before we proceed to observe in detail how this experience shaped all his teaching, it is necessary to face the 'moral difficulty' involved in the story. How, we ask, could God have given His servant such a command? or, to put the question from the other side, How could Hosea have recognised the voice of God in the impulse which prompted him to marry a woman of unchaste life? Must he not rather have thrust it from him as a snare and a temptation? Such a course must inevitably expose a prophet to well-merited contempt, as though he of all men were condoning the immorality of his countrymen which it was his mission to condemn?

The narrative not an allegory.

The difficulty has long been felt, and various explanations of it have been suggested. Some interpreters have regarded the whole narrative as an allegory. Now while it is tolerably certain that the prophets—at any rate some of the later prophets—express their teaching in the form of narratives of transactions which it is not necessary to suppose actually took place, there is not the slightest hint that such is the case here. The whole narrative bears the stamp of reality; and this impression of its reality cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the theory that the transactions related were presented to the prophet's mind in a vision, and impressed themselves upon his imagination as vividly as though they had actually taken place.

There is not the slightest hint of this in the book itself. Only by a literal interpretation does the narrative of the first chapter receive its natural meaning; and it is only by a literal interpretation that we obtain the connexion between Hosea's life and his teaching which is the true key to his writings. But in fact the allegorical theory does not really remove the moral difficulty. If the transaction was one which was repugnant to the moral sense, how could it be chosen as the subject of an allegory? Moreover, if the prophet had a faithful wife, it seems incredible that he should have exposed her to the suspicion of infidelity, as he must have done by using an allegory which certainly

does not bear its allegorical character upon the face of it. It may be added that the names are strongly in favour of the literal interpretation. For if the story of the marriage were an allegory, we should naturally expect the wife to bear a significant name. Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, Lo-ammi, tell their own story; but *Gomer bath Diblaim* yields no obvious symbolical meaning. The natural inference is that it is the actual name of a woman which she bore before she became the prophet's wife, while the children's names were given to them with a purpose.

If then the narrative is not an allegory but a record of facts, what light can be thrown upon its moral aspect? Some have thought that Hosea wedded Gomer with full knowledge of her character, in the hope of winning her back to a virtuous life. Such an act, it is urged, would have nothing immoral in it. But again it must be said that there is no hint of such a purpose in the narrative, and that it does not correspond to the requirements of the symbolism.

The true view, which at once relieves the moral difficulty, gives the natural explanation to the narrative, and supplies the key to Hosea's teaching in the experience of his life, is that while we have in these chapters a record of actual facts, Gomer was as yet unstained when Hosea took her to be his wife. She is called *a wife* or *woman of whoredom* (ch. i. 2), not because she was already such, but because she proved to be such in her wedded life. The hideous

tendencies to evil were latent in her heart. The prophet's love did not avail to restrain them. It awoke no permanent response of love in her heart. She abandoned him for the wild orgies of the licentious worship of Baal and Ashtoreth.

Then, as he sat in his homeless home, and pondered over this

> sorrow of all sorrows, death of deaths,
> The springs of blessing poisoned at their source,

as he "watched the ghastly ruins of his life," he saw that even this cruel calamity was not blind chance but the will of God.

> Through all the mystery of my years
> There runs a purpose which forbids the wail
> Of passionate despair. I have not lived
> At random, as a soul whom God forsakes;
> But evermore His Spirit led me on,
> Prompted each purpose, taught my lips to speak,
> Stirred up within me that deep love, and now
> Reveals the inner secret.[1]

Then he recognised that it was by God's command that he had chosen the wife who had proved so faithless. All had been ordered to teach him the lesson which he was to teach Israel, as he could have learnt it by no other means. *The beginning of Jehovah's speaking to him* was the impulse to marry

[1] Plumptre's "Gomer," in *Lazarus, and other Poems*. In this singularly beautiful and suggestive poem the view is adopted that Hosea married Gomer, knowing her character, in the hope of reforming her. But the lines quoted, and much more in the poem, admirably illustrate the view which is adopted here.

Gomer. He did not know it at the time. It was only by the course of events that the significance of that act was revealed to him, and he learnt that that was the first step in his prophetic career: but he records it for us in the light in which he was led to see it in after-days, that we may understand and sympathise with him in his painful discipline. God's instruments not seldom act by His direction without conscious knowledge that they are being specially guided by Him, and do not recognise till afterwards that the impulse which moved them was a divine impulse. And it is hardly necessary to remark that God 'spoke' to His prophets through events and circumstances.

We ask indeed *why* it was that God laid this heavy burden upon His servant, and trained him by such a fearful discipline. Is it not a law of this fallen world, that "knowledge through suffering entereth," that self-surrender is the path of service, that redemption is only wrought out through sacrifice? But this is a very different matter from a command which would have outraged Hosea's moral sense, and exposed him to the scorn of his fellow-countrymen.

VI

The application.

It was a stern education, but at least we can see how it fitted the prophet for his work, and taught him to understand the relation between Jehovah and Israel.

Jehovah had chosen Israel to be His own people. He had brought them out of Egypt. He had led them to the home which He had prepared for them. He had shewn the tenderest love for them, and claimed from them the return of a pure and undivided affection. The bond between them was as close and tender as the bond of wedlock.

But Israel had been faithless to Jehovah. *The land,* so runs the burden of Hosea's message, *goeth utterly a whoring from following Jehovah* (i. 2). She had sought other lovers in false gods, especially the various forms under which Baal was worshipped. To them she ascribed the prosperity and the blessings she enjoyed. *She said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink. . . . For she did not know that it was I who gave her the corn, and the wine, and the oil, and multiplied unto her silver and gold, which they made into an image of Baal* (ii. 5, 8). Therefore Jehovah had determined to punish Israel. He would deprive her of her prosperity, and prove to her that it did not come from the Baals that she worshipped. He would carry her into exile, into a second Egyptian bondage, and there in hard service she would learn the measure of her folly and her guilt. There she would be deprived of her legitimate rights, and secluded from her old temptations.[1]

[1] Observe the parallel between the position of Gomer (iii. 3) and that of Israel in exile (iii. 4).

The children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without pillar, and without ephod or teraphim (iii. 4). But the separation would not last for ever. *Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak to her heart . . . and she shall make answer there, as in the days of her youth,* responding to Jehovah's call with trembling confidence (ii. 14 f.; cp. iii. 5).

The doom expressed by the names of *Jezreel* and *Lo-ruhamah* and *Lo-ammi* will be reversed. *Jezreel* will be no more the omen of calamitous defeat, but the pledge of Israel's triumph, the scene of the victory of the united forces of Israel and Judah over their enemies[1] (i. 11). But the plain of Esdraelon was not only the battle-field, but the corn-field of Palestine; and the name of *Jezreel* further suggests the renewed fertility of the land in the future time of peace and plenty (ii. 22), while its meaning, *God soweth,* points to the 'sowing' of Israel in its own land once more, to grow and multiply and bear fruit abundantly (ii. 23). *Lo-ruhamah,* the Unpitied, becomes *Ruhamah,* the Pitied. *Lo-ammi,* Not-my-people, becomes once more *Ammi,* My people (ii. 23).

Israel and Judah will be reunited under a true king of David's line (i. 11; iii. 5). Jehovah will proclaim a truce for His people with man and

[1] In ch. i. 11 *the day of Jezreel* must mean the day of battle in the plain of Jezreel; and the obscure words *shall go up from the land* are best understood to mean *shall go up thither to battle from all parts of the land.*

beast (ii. 18). He will multiply and prosper them in the land. The true ideal of the marriage covenant will be realised. Israel will reflect Jehovah's attributes in a perfect and unending fellowship of knowledge and of love. *I will betroth thee unto Me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in judgement, and in loving-kindness and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness, and thou shalt know Jehovah* (ii. 19, 20).

Such is briefly the substance of the first division of Hosea's book; and we feel in almost every line how his own sad lot had burnt into his inmost soul a sense of the heinousness of Israel's infidelity towards Jehovah. We feel how he saw that his own unquenchable love for the guilty Gomer, and his eager longing to win back her love, were but a faint type of the mighty love of Jehovah for Israel, and of His unquenchable desire to win back Israel to her allegiance to Him; and with Jehovah desire is purpose, and purpose means accomplishment, be it never so long delayed by human folly and obstinacy.

VII

Teaching of chaps. iv-xiv.

In the second division of the book (chaps. iv-xiv) there is no direct allusion to the circumstances of the prophet's life. But the same fundamental thoughts of the love of Jehovah for Israel, and the

unfaithfulness of Israel towards Jehovah, form the warp and woof of the whole series of discourses. The sins of the people in all ranks of life are exposed and censured. They are all traced to their source in the spirit of infidelity towards Jehovah. Warning is given again and again of the inevitable chastisement which such conduct must bring upon them; yet in spite of all offences, Jehovah is ready to pardon, and one day Israel will return and repent and be restored.

Impassioned feeling, not logical arrangement, is the characteristic of the discourses collected in this part of the book. Any attempt to give a systematic account of Hosea's teaching is liable to give exaggerated prominence to some parts at the expense of others. But the following may be set down as some of the chief forms in which the fundamental idea of the book finds expression.

The covenant.

A covenant exists between Jehovah and Israel. Jehovah is Israel's God. Israel is Jehovah's people. But Israel has broken the covenant. *They like Adam*[1] *have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt treacherously against Me* (vi. 7). . . . *A trumpet to thy mouth! As an eagle against Jehovah's*

[1] The rendering is uncertain. It may be, *Like men they have transgressed*, or, *They are like men who have transgressed*, etc. But *like Adam* gives the most point. Though no actual covenant is said to have been made with Adam, the command given to him with penalties for the breach of it was virtually a covenant. Cp. Job xxxi. 33.

house doth he come! *because they have transgressed My covenant, and rebelled against My law* (viii. 1).

The closeness and tenderness of this covenant-relation between Jehovah and Israel are expressed, as before, by the figure of marriage. But another figure is employed to bring into relief other aspects of Jehovah's protecting care and Israel's duty of obedience. Israel is Jehovah's son. *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called My son out of Egypt* (xi. 1). The words recall the words in which God's claim upon the nation at the Exodus is expressed to Pharaoh: *Israel is My son, My firstborn. . . . Let My son go, that he may serve Me* (Exod. iv. 22 f.). Other Semitic nations regarded their gods as the fathers of their people. They supposed themselves to be actually descended from their gods. But the relation of Jehovah to Israel is not a physical but a moral relation, a fatherhood of adoption, grounded in His free choice of the people to be His own.

Its origin. This covenant-relation dated from the Exodus. It was no new thing. The nation was born when it was brought out of Egypt. It was a delight to Jehovah. He *loved* it. *I found Israel,* He says, *like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers as the first-ripe in the fig-tree at her first season* (ix. 10). Since that time He had been Israel's God. *I am Jehovah thy God from the land of Egypt; and thou shalt know no god but Me, and beside Me there is no*

saviour (xiii. 4; cp. xii. 9). He had been continually training His child by loving discipline. *I, even I, taught Ephraim to walk; I took them on My arms; but they knew not that I healed them* (xi. 3). He had taught them by the ministry of the prophets (xii. 10). But from the first they had sinned, and chosen other gods. *They came to Baal-peor, and devoted themselves unto the Shame, and became an abomination like the thing they loved* (ix. 10).

The covenant with the nation dated from the Exodus; but Hosea reminds them how, even in earlier days, Jehovah had revealed Himself to their eponymous ancestor Jacob, and preserved him through the various vicissitudes of his life (xii. 3 ff., 12 ff.). It is important to observe the idea of *national personality* which is involved. Israel is treated as an individual, as possessing a solidarity and continuity of life, as responsible for its actions. Jehovah's covenant is with the nation, not, primarily, with the individuals of the nation. It is in the later prophets that the doctrine of personal responsibility begins to appear, which is fully developed in the New Testament. But the older truth still retains an important meaning.

Its conditions.

What were the conditions of this covenant? It implied all the duty and love and obedience which are involved in the relation of wife to husband, and son to father. It is true that the ancient conception of these relations differed not a little from the modern

one. The ideas of ownership and authority entered into them in a way which is strange to us. But both relations, as they appear in Hosea, involve the tenderest love and the closest affection.

The obligations of the covenant were set forth in a *Torah*, a Law, a body of instruction or a revelation. It was the duty of the priests to teach it; but they had neglected their duty (iv. 6). Israel had rebelled against Jehovah's law. They counted it *as a strange thing* (viii. 1, 12).

What do we gather from Hosea were Jehovah's requirements as embodied in His law? *Truth, lovingkindness, knowledge of God;* these are the essentials which stand in the forefront. It is because these are wanting that Jehovah *has a controversy with the inhabitants of the land* (iv. 1). *Lovingkindness and not sacrifice* is what He desires, and *knowledge of God more than burnt offerings* (vi. 6). Justice and lovingkindness are to be the rule and aim of all their actions (x. 12). Let them return to God, keep lovingkindness and judgement, and wait upon their God continually (xii. 6). Sacrifice will not avail to propitiate Jehovah while it is offered by men whose hearts are estranged from Him, and who habitually neglect the essential part of His commandments (v. 6).

Israel's sins

But Israel's conduct presents a glaring contrast to the high ideal of loving duty to their God and to one another which is thus set before them. The

root-sin, from which all others spring, is unfaithfulness to Jehovah. Israel is a harlot and an adulteress. She has broken the marriage vow by religious apostasy. The false gods for which she has deserted Jehovah are her lovers. The Phoenician nature-worship was essentially immoral, and it is not always easy to decide whether Hosea is speaking literally or figuratively. Probably he regarded the abominations connected with the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth as the outward symbol of the spiritual sin, and did not care to distinguish sharply.[1]

Israel's political apostasy was also a breach of her marriage vow. Jehovah was her natural protector. To seek alliance with Egypt or Assyria was a desertion of Him. It implied distrust of His ability or His willingness to help. Coquetting with foreign nations was not allowable for a people which was to be separate from all others (vii. 13 ; viii. 9).

Their idolatry was a further offence. In the calves at Beth-el and Dan they professed to worship Jehovah. But Hosea scorns the notion of a manufactured god. *He hath cast off thy calf, O Samaria. . . . From Israel is even this ; a workman made it, and it is no god : yea, the calf of Samaria shall be shattered in pieces* (viii. 6). Contemptuously he calls Beth-el *Beth-aven.* For him it is no longer *the house of God* but *the house of vanity.*[2]

[1] See iv. 12 ff., 17 f. ; v. 3 ff. ; ix. 1 ; xiii. 1 ff.
[2] Cp. viii. 4 f. ; x. 1, 5, 15 ; xiii. 2 ; xiv. 3.

The separation of the Northern Kingdom from Judah was another sin. That separation was in one aspect a punishment to Judah. We cannot help some feeling of sympathy with the revolt against a burdensome despotism. The prophet Ahijah, when he told Jeroboam what was in his mind, did not condemn his enterprise. He told him the conditions upon which a blessing might rest upon it. But from the first Jeroboam had set those conditions at defiance. In the event the separation had borne evil fruit, and Hosea condemns it as wrong in principle. The unity of the nation should have corresponded to the unity of Jehovah. His wife should have been one. Moreover, from the first, their self-chosen kings had led them astray. Idolatry had been the direct result of the separation. And so Hosea condemns it, and points forward to the reunion of Israel under the true king of David's line in the golden age of restoration.[1]

The moral corruption of the nation is universal. From the highest to the lowest, all are corrupt. How intimately immorality was connected with false worship we have already seen. It sprang from the want of knowledge of God. It culminated in the absence of *lovingkindness*, that cardinal virtue in which the love of Jehovah for Israel should have been reflected in man's relation to his fellow-man.

The punishment. For these sins judgement is close at hand. Samaria

[1] See viii. 4 ; xiii. 9 ff. ; i. 11 ; iii. 4, 5.

must bear the punishment of her guilt. The kingdom of Ephraim must be destroyed. But even while He pronounces sentence, Jehovah's compassion is moved. He yearns over the guilty nation with the tenderest affection. *How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how surrender thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within Me, My compassions are kindled together* (xi. 8). But the judgement is inevitable, and death and Sheol are summoned to do their worst. *From the power of Sheol should I deliver them? from death should I redeem them? Where are thy plagues, O death? Where is thy destruction, O Sheol? Repentance shall be hid from Mine eyes* (xiii. 14).[1]

The restoration.

But Jehovah's love for His people is unquenchable. The first division of the prophecy, as we have seen, points to a restoration beyond the judgement. Here the same thoughts recur. If the nation must *die*, it will rise again. *I will go*, says Jehovah, *and return to My place, till they acknowledge their offence, and seek My face. In their affliction they will seek Me earnestly, saying, Come and let us return unto Jehovah: for* HE *hath torn, and He will heal us; hath smitten, and will bind us up. After two days will He revive us: on the third day will He raise us up, and we shall live*

[1] The last clause of this verse shews that the preceding clause must speak of judgement not of deliverance, and must therefore be taken interrogatively. This interpretation is confirmed by the preceding and following verses, which speak of the judgement as now inevitable.

in His sight. And let us know, press on to know, Jehovah: His going forth is sure as the morning: and He shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter rain that watereth the earth (v. 15–vi. 3).

For a while Jehovah must be like a lion, tearing and devouring His prey: yet one day His roar will be the signal, terrible yet gracious, for Israel's return from the lands of their banishment. He *shall roar, and the children shall come trembling from the west.*[1] *They shall come trembling as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria: and I will make them to dwell in their own houses, saith Jehovah* (xi. 10, 11).

But the most touching and beautiful picture of the restoration is in the dialogue between the penitent people and Jehovah[2] with which the book closes. They approach Him with a prayer for pardon, confessing their sin, and promising no more to turn for help to worldly powers or material forces, no more to worship the work of their hands. Very gracious is the answer: *I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely; for Mine anger is turned away from him* (xiv. 4).

[1] *I.e.* from the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. Cp. Isa. xi. 11; Joel iii. 6.

[2] *vv.* 2, 3 of ch. xiv are obviously the people's confession, and *vv.* 4–7 Jehovah's answer; and the dialogue is continued in *v.* 8 thus: "Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols?" Jehovah answers, "I, even I, have answered, and will regard him." Ephraim responds, "I am like a green fir-tree": Jehovah reminds him of the source of his prosperity: "From Me is thy fruit found."

There is here no reference to the reunion of Israel with Judah, or to the Davidic king ; but it does not follow that those features in the earlier picture of the restoration are not Hosea's work, or have been forgotten. Completeness is not to be expected everywhere. The dominant idea of this passage is Ephraim's repentance and restoration to the favour of Jehovah. It is natural that Hosea should dwell in detail upon the destiny of his own people, and especially upon that returning to Jehovah which he knows must be the condition of restoration and blessing. But silence as to the future reunion of Israel and Judah and the leadership of the house of David does not mean that these hopes are ignored. There is nothing in this picture which is inconsistent with that drawn in the first division of the book. They are mutually complementary, not contradictory.

VIII

Hosea silent about the nations.

Hosea's message is limited to the chosen people. In the main, indeed, it is, as we have seen, limited to that part of it with which he was himself connected. He is silent about the destiny of the nations. He has no single word to say either of their judgement or of their redemption. Amos had recently spoken of Jehovah as the sovereign of the world, ruling and judging the nations as well as His own people. The restored and reunited Israel

was to possess the nations. Hosea's contemporaries Micah and Isaiah—if not some earlier prophet to whom they were both indebted—spoke of Zion as the centre of the worship of the nations, from which Jehovah's law was to go forth to the world. But it would be precarious to infer that Hosea neither knew nor cared about the destiny of the nations. It is with Israel that he has to do. His intense love for his people leads him to concentrate his attention upon them.

Deeper character of Hosea's teaching.

But he gains in depth what he loses in breadth. If the teaching of Amos is wider, that of Hosea is more profound. Not that the one is to be regarded as the rival of the other: each has his proper place in the economy of revelation. But we cannot fail to note that Hosea goes deeper, and deals not with action only but with the springs and motives of action. The love of God for His people is a thought which does not appear in Amos. It is prominent in Hosea (iii. 1; xi. 1, 4; xiv. 4). The term *loving-kindness* (Heb. *ḥeṣed*) is not found in Amos. It is a characteristic word in Hosea, who uses it to express the natural attitude of Jehovah to His people, and man's natural attitude to his fellow-man, as the reflection of that love (ii. 19; iv. 1; vi. 4, 6; x. 12; xii. 6). Characteristic too of Hosea as compared with Amos is the stress which he lays upon Israel's repentance as the condition of its restoration. Amos sees the nation purified by judgement. Hosea equally

foresees that the sinners must be destroyed; but further, he puts into the mouth of the nation confessions and prayers which point to the radical change needed (v. 15; vi. 1 ff.; xiv. 1 ff.). While like Amos he describes the future as a time of restored prosperity and fertility, it is not this which is the supreme goal of his aspirations, but the perfect fellowship of life and love between God and His people, in which His purpose for them will be completely realised.

First reference to the Messianic king.

Once more Hosea takes a step in advance of Amos in his prophecy of the future king. Amos had spoken of the reunion of Israel in connexion with the house of David. Hosea predicts that the children of Israel shall *return and seek Jehovah their God and David their king* (iii. 5). It is the first hint of that ideal ruler whose coming we are about to find predicted in Micah and Isaiah. For *David* must mean not merely a prince of David's line, but a second David; one who corresponds to David as *the man after God's own heart*, and who, as is plain from the position which he occupies, is to be Jehovah's true representative.

IX

Fulfilment.

How have Hosea's prophecies been fulfilled? Does it seem that they reach far beyond any fulfilment to which we can point, and have failed of accomplishment? It must be remembered that all prophecy is conditional. It expresses God's purpose,

which is so mysteriously conditioned and limited by man's folly and obstinacy. Yet in spirit, if not in the letter, they have been and are being fulfilled. Israel went into exile. The nation died. But it was recalled to life. Israel of the Return was always held to represent the whole and not a part of the nation. After it returned from Babylon it never again forsook Jehovah for other gods.

The second David has appeared in Christ; and the promised blessings have been granted through Him in a way utterly transcending all that Hosea could have anticipated. The love of Jehovah has been manifested by His unspeakable gift to humanity. The ideal of sonship has been exhibited in Christ, who has fulfilled Israel's calling.[1] Jehovah's relation to Israel is continued for us in Christ's relation to His Church. But we can see too how Israel's blindness and obstinacy have hindered the complete fulfilment of the prophecy; and we still wait for the time, when, in the words of St. Paul, *all Israel shall be saved.*

Jehovah's mighty and inextinguishable love for Israel, which will not rest satisfied until it has brought all Israel into harmony with itself: that is the master-thought of Hosea's message. As we expand it in the light of the Incarnation, we dare

[1] The quotation of ch. xi. 1 in Matt. ii. 15 implies that Israel was a type of Christ. Israel's resurrection (vi. 2) is a type of Christ's resurrection.

to think of a love which embraces all mankind, an almighty love which will not be content until all things are subject unto it, *that God may be all in all.*

Note A.

Analysis of the Book of Hosea.

Part I.—Chaps. i–iii.

The prophet's domestic history, and the message of doom expressed by the names of his children (i. 1–9). Yet even this doom will be reversed (i. 10 – ii. 1).[1] Reverting abruptly from the future to the present, Hosea describes the sin of Israel and the certainty of judgement (ii. 2–13), and concludes with the promise of restoration (ii. 14–23). The prophet's treatment of his guilty wife is a parable of the means which Jehovah will adopt for the restoration of Israel by the discipline of punishment (iii).

Part II.—Chaps. iv–xiv.

Fresh beginnings may be noted at iv. 1 ; v. 1 ; viii. 1 ; ix. 1 ; xi. 12 (Heb. xii. 1), but no definite plan of arrangement can be traced. The section as a whole must be taken to represent Hosea's teaching after Jeroboam's death. It is

[1] Abrupt as is the transition from *v.* 9 to *v.* 10, and again from ii. 1 to ii. 2, I cannot think that the transposition of i. 10–ii. 1 to the end of ch. ii, which is proposed by Cheyne and others, can be right. These verses would form a very awkward conclusion to that chapter. Rather, as it seems to me, the thought of deliverance succeeds that of judgement as it does in ch. ii and again in ch. iii, so that each of the three subdivisions into which chaps. i–iii fall contains the contrast of the two ideas which form the groundwork of prophecy, and ends with the promise of restoration.

possible that Hosea himself committed to writing prophecies orally delivered on different occasions. But no precise division of subjects is to be looked for in a prophet like Hosea, burning with indignation at the sights he saw, yet yearning with intense love over the guilty nation.

The following subdivisions may however be a help to study :—

(1) Chaps. iv–viii. Israel's guilt. The accusation.

The corruption of the people due to their ignorance which is the fault of the priests (iv). Detailed account of the way in which this corruption penetrates all public life, and infects the State from its leaders downwards (v–vii). Israel's sins of covenant-breaking ; idolatry ; political apostasy ; neglect of the law (viii).

(2) Chaps. ix–xi. 11. Israel's doom.

The necessity and certainty of Israel's punishment further demonstrated. In this section the impending catastrophe comes more clearly into view.

(3) Chaps. xi. 12–xiv. Retrospect and prospect.

The past history of the nation shews the ingratitude of their faithlessness (xii, xiii) ; but when punishment has done its work, the penitent nation will be restored (xiv).

LECTURE VI

ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOZ

In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and His skirts filled the temple. Above Him were standing seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he doth cover his face, and with twain he doth cover his feet, and with twain he doth fly. And one kept crying unto another, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory.—ISAIAH vi. 1–3.

I

The crisis.

It was a crisis in the history of Israel that needed an exceptional messenger. The last half of the eighth century was to witness the fall of the Northern Kingdom. It was hopelessly corrupt. Amos and Hosea had pronounced its doom. The judgement was inevitable. Its ministers were close at hand. Would Jerusalem share the fate of Samaria? How could it escape in the impending conflict between Assyria and Egypt for the supremacy of Western Asia? Lying as it did close to the route which the hostile armies must traverse, its existence was at stake. So human

reason would have calculated. But Jehovah's purpose was to preserve His own city; and as the interpreter of that purpose He raised up the prophet Isaiah.

The messenger.

The messenger was worthy of the occasion. "Of the other prophets," writes Ewald,[1] "all the more celebrated ones were distinguished by some special excellence and peculiar power, whether of speech or of deed; in Isaiah all the powers and all the beauties of prophetic speech and deed combine to form a symmetrical whole; he is distinguished less by any special excellence than by the symmetry and the perfection of all his powers. . . . There are rarely combined in the same mind the profoundest prophetic emotion and purest feeling, the most unwearied, successful, and consistent activity amid all the confusions and changes of life, and lastly, true poetic ease and beauty of style, combined with force and irresistible power; yet this triad of powers we find realised in Isaiah as in no other prophet." He is indeed the king among the prophets. During his long ministry of forty years, through evil report and good report, unflinchingly and consistently he delivered Jehovah's message to a people blind to its high calling, deaf to the divine word, destitute of energising faith and elevating hope. When they were secure in the conceit of their own arrogant self-confidence, he warned them

[1] *Prophets*, vol. ii, p. 1 (E.T.).

of the impending judgement. When they trembled in pusillanimous despair at approaching calamity, he encouraged them with the assurance of divine protection. With unshaken confidence he proclaimed the absolute sovereignty of Jehovah over the nations of the world, and maintained "the eternal hope of the divine kingdom upon earth."

His modes of work.

Watch him at his work. He was no recluse, living apart from the busy ways of men, and emerging from his retirement only to disappear again when his message had been delivered. His home was in the capital. There, in the centre of the national life, he exercised his ministry. Almost all his discourses are addressed to the people, or to particular classes, or to individuals in Jerusalem. His family around him formed part of his message. His own name, *Jehovah's deliverance*, given him originally as an expression of trust or of gratitude (cp. Ps. xxvii. 1), became an omen of his work. His wife was *the prophetess*. Two at least of his children, like Hosea's, bore significant names. *Sheār-yāshūb*, 'a remnant shall return' (vii. 3), bore witness to the certainty of the truth that Judah must be purified by judgement till but a remnant of it was left, yet that it could not finally prove apostate from Jehovah.[1]

[1] The name is explained in x. 20-22. The words, "a remnant shall return" (*Sheār yāshūb*), "a remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God," make it clear that a return to allegiance to Jehovah, not a return from exile, is meant. It should be noticed that as Sheār-yāshūb was old enough to accompany his father in or about

Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 'Hasten-booty-speed-spoil' (viii. 1 ff.), foretokened the speedy downfall of Samaria and Damascus. Thus in the darkest days of trial he could say, *Behold, I and the children whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from Jehovah of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion* (viii. 18).

He gathered round him a band of faithful disciples, who treasured up his utterances in their memories, and guarded the prophecies which he had committed to writing—a sealed book to the infatuated multitude (viii. 16; xxix. 11).

At one time we see him taking a great tablet and writing on it in bold legible characters some enigmatic watchword, which he placards in public in order to arrest the attention of the most casual passer-by (viii. 1; xxx. 7 ff.).[1] At another time we see him traversing the streets of Jerusalem stripped and barefoot, a living picture of the captives of Egypt and Ethiopia who were to be led away by the victorious Sargon (xx. 2).

He evidently occupied a unique position of authority in Jerusalem. He was the fearless censor

the year 735, the fundamental idea of Isaiah's teaching expressed in the name must have been present to his mind from the very commencement of his public ministry, if not before. See Davidson, *Expositor*, 4th Ser. vol. vii, p. 243.

[1] In this case the words *Rahab hēm shebeth* were to be written on the tablet as the designation of Egypt. *Rahab*, *i.e.* Egypt, is *sitting still*. They may brag, as the name *Rahab* implies, but they will not move to help you.

of the faithless and cowardly Ahaz; the trusted counsellor of the well-intentioned though vacillating Hezekiah. In no gentle terms he denounced an unworthy minister of state, and frankly warned his successor of the dangers and temptations of office (xxii. 15 ff., 24 f.). When he needed a witness in the prosecution of his prophetic work, he could call upon the chief ecclesiastical authority of the city (viii. 2).

The variety of his activities is most remarkable. Not only was he a religious and social reformer, a preacher of righteousness and godliness, but a keen and far-sighted statesman. He observed the political movements of the day at home and abroad. He criticised them from the divine standpoint. He pronounced an authoritative judgement on their true meaning and issue in relation to the will and purpose of God. But though he thus lived among his people, intensely interested in all that concerned their welfare, and fully conscious of the importance of the present, he looked forth from his prophetic watch-tower upon the nations around, and marked their movements and foretold their destinies; he looked forward with clear eye to a future in which Israel, purified in the fire of judgement, should realise its calling, and be the centre from which spiritual knowledge should go forth to illuminate the nations of the world.

II

The Book of Isaiah.

At the outset of any attempt to form an estimate of the work and teaching of Isaiah, we are met by the preliminary question, how much of the volume which bears the name of Isaiah can be ascribed to the son of Amoz, the friend and counsellor of Hezekiah. Modern criticism, upon grounds of which the general principles have been stated in the first Lecture, detaches at one stroke the last twenty-seven chapters, and assigns that sublime prophecy to one or possibly more authors, who lived towards the close of the Babylonian Exile, when Cyrus had already commenced his career of conquest. That this view is not only critically justified, but that it sheds a flood of light on the meaning of the prophecy, I hope to shew in a future Lecture. But criticism does not stop here. Upon similar grounds, more or less convincing in each particular case, some twelve out of the first thirty-nine chapters are pronounced not to be from Isaiah's pen. Among these passages are to be reckoned the doom of Babylon, together with the magnificent ode of triumph at the oppressor's downfall (xiii. 2–xiv. 23): the vision of universal judgement and national restoration which forms the epilogue to the collection of prophecies against the nations (xxiv-xxvii): the doom of Edom and its contrast in the glorious future of Israel which forms a similar epilogue to the collection of discourses

belonging to the reign of Hezekiah (xxxiv, xxxv); the historical record found also with comparatively small variation in the Book of Kings (xxxvi-xxxix, with the exception of Isaiah's words in xxxvii. 21-35): together with some shorter and less important pieces, about which opinion is less decided. These passages are thought to presume historical circumstances which are not those of Isaiah's time. They differ in style, more or less markedly, from the undoubted prophecies of Isaiah. They contain theological ideas which appear to be in advance of those of Isaiah's day, and to belong to a later stage in the development of revelation.

It is obviously impossible to discuss here the validity of the grounds upon which this judgement rests in each case. But they are certainly of sufficient weight to make it necessary to set these passages on one side in endeavouring to form an estimate of Isaiah's work and teaching. The devout student of Holy Scripture need not be disquieted by such a conclusion. The canonicity of a particular document does not depend upon the accuracy of the tradition with regard to its authorship. Its inspiration is not invalidated if that tradition is found to be erroneous. Isaiah is honoured rather than dishonoured if he is seen to have been the founder of a school, to which no small part of the book which bears his name is due. The Holy Spirit is not limited to the use of one instrument in preference to many. Whether the

Book of Isaiah is the work of one prophet or of many, it is placed in our hands as an undoubted part of the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, and is to be studied as such. But our concern at the present moment is not with the book as a whole, but with those parts of it which may without reasonable doubt be attributed to Isaiah himself.

III

The call of Isaiah.

The key to the right understanding of Isaiah's ministry is to be found in the account of his call to the prophetic office, which is given in the sixth chapter. It was in the year of King Uzziah's death. That monarch's long reign had been, like the reign of his contemporary Jeroboam II for northern Israel, a period of prosperity such as Judah had not known since the time of Solomon. But for those who saw below the surface, its splendour was dimmed by the deep-seated decay of religion and morality. One day in that year, as the prophet worshipped in the Temple courts, musing peradventure upon the sovereignty of the King of Israel, Jehovah of hosts, Who had set His throne there, and upon the failure of His subjects to render Him a loyal homage; meditating upon the holiness of Jehovah and the appalling contrast presented by the almost universal unholiness of the nation; the earthly Temple faded from his view, and its place was taken by its heavenly counterpart. The

veil which shrouded the inner sanctuary of the divine Presence was drawn aside. Instead of the Ark, the symbol of that Presence, he beheld the throne itself whereon the Lord was seated; instead of the Cherubim of glory, overshadowing the mercy-seat, he saw attendant seraphs hovering above the throne; instead of the chant of priests and Levites, he heard those seraphs answering one another in perpetual hymn,[1]

Holy, holy, holy is Jehovah of hosts,
The whole earth is full of His glory.

Yet all he saw was as it were the skirts of the robe of Him who sat there; for who can look upon the face of God and live? and he marked how even those holy seraphs were wont to veil their faces before the divine Majesty, as unworthy to behold it; and to cover their feet, as though conscious of the imperfection of their service.

Then, as the prophet gazed upon the sight, and listened to those voices unceasingly proclaiming the essential nature of the thrice holy God, the sense of his own uncleanness, of his own unfitness to bear the holy message of that holy Being, the sense of the uncleanness of his people which, as dwelling in the midst of them and representing them, he could not escape, overwhelmed him utterly. *Woe is me!* he

[1] Even the R.V. fails to mark the frequentative tense, *one kept crying unto another*, etc. Rightly the Te Deum: "Tibi Cherubin et Seraphin *incessabili* voce proclamant, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth."

cried, *for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, Jehovah of hosts.* But his lips are touched with a live coal from off the altar. The cleansing fire of divine love purges away his sinfulness. He is ready for his commission. When he hears the voice asking, *Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?* he is prepared to answer, *Here am I; send me.* But what a crushing task it is! *Go, and tell this people, Hear ye continually, but understand not; and see ye continually, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people gross, and make its ears dull, and seal up its eyes; lest it see with its eyes, and hear with its ears, and its heart understand, and it turn and be healed.* It is a stern sentence. But the nation was already insensible, deaf, and blind. God's message must fall upon unreceptive ears, and it is a fixed law of the divine economy that calls to repentance, messages of grace, all good motions and impulses, do but harden the hearts of those who will not yield to them. Individuals would no doubt hear and repent. But the nation as a whole was spiritually dead. Isaiah's ministry would but confirm the obdurate mass of the people in its obduracy.

Lord, how long? He dares not appeal against the sentence as Amos did (vii. 2, 5). But he feels that it cannot be final. The answer comes that cities must be wasted and houses uninhabited, that the land

must be desolate and its people exiled. Judgement must follow upon judgement until the evil is destroyed. Yet the nation cannot be annihilated. As the life remains in the stump of the felled oak tree, ready, when spring returns, to throw up fresh shoots, so there will be a holy seed left in Israel, ready, when the winter of its punishment is over, to spring up once more into a holy nation (vi. 13, R.V.).

That vision stamped an indelible character upon Isaiah's whole ministry. The majesty, the holiness, the glory of God: these are the ideas which fill and awe his spirit. They intensify his sense of the pettiness of man, of the impertinent absurdity of human pride, of the intolerable enormity of Israel's defiance of Jehovah. But while he is possessed with the certainty that judgement must come to purge the ungodly nation, he is equally confident that the people and city of God's choice cannot perish utterly. *A remnant shall return* is the echo of the words, *a holy seed is the stock thereof.*

It seems plain that this vision was the primary call of Isaiah to his prophetic ministry, and not, as some have supposed, a second and special call to the ministry of hardening. Why then does the account of it stand where it does, and not, as might have been expected, at the beginning of the book? The most probable answer seems to be that it was originally prefixed to a collection of prophecies belonging to the

reign of Ahaz which was published separately, and that it was retained in this position when the various subordinate collections were united. We can easily understand that Isaiah might not have felt disposed at once to publish so solemn an experience, and reserved it for the preface to prophecies of the time of Ahaz, instead of prefixing it to those of the reign of Jotham. There is at least this appropriateness in the present order. The opening chapters have familiarised us with the character of the people. We have learned something of the sins which are demanding punishment. We are prepared to understand the terms of his mission, and to sympathise with him in his arduous task.

IV

Circumstances of the time.

Isaiah's ministry may be divided into three periods, corresponding approximately to the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. If he lived on into the reign of Manasseh, by whom, according to tradition, he was sawn asunder, we have no record of his ministry which can be connected with the history of the time. Let us endeavour to realise the condition of Judah in the year of Uzziah's death, when Isaiah began his work. It was not unlike that of Israel in the time of Jeroboam II. For while Jeroboam had been extending the power of Israel in the north, Uzziah had been strengthening the kingdom of Judah in the

south. He waged successful wars against the Philistines, dismantled the fortresses of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and built cities for himself in Philistia. The Ammonites and Edomites were among his vassals. He fortified Jerusalem and other cities, reorganised the army, and stocked his arsenals with munitions of war. Nor was he less successful in the arts of peace. He largely developed the internal resources of the country. He rebuilt the port of Elath on the Red Sea, by which the commerce of the East found its way to Jerusalem. The occupation of Sela, which had been captured by Amaziah, commanded the trade route to Southern Arabia. But, as was the case in the Northern Kingdom, prosperity had brought grave evils in its train, and sowed the seeds of disaster and ruin. The increase of wealth and luxury had undermined the ancient national life. The greed of gain had sapped the nation's morality. As the rich grew richer and more powerful, the poor grew poorer and more defenceless.

(i) *Reign of Jotham.* B.C. 740–735.

Jotham continued his father's policy with success. He strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, built castles and towers in the forests, perhaps beyond Jordan, and suppressed an Ammonite revolt. Only towards the end of his reign were the murmurs of the coming storm heard. Pekah and Rezin attacked him, though without success. But it was a warning of what was in store for his successor.

Under these circumstances Isaiah commenced his

ministry. To the reign of Jotham may be referred with confidence the discourses included in chaps. ii-iv, together with the closely connected appendix in chap. v. One or two references suggest that these discourses were not committed to writing until Ahaz had come to the throne, but in the main they reflect the time when disaster had not yet befallen the state, and the pride of Judah was still unbroken. From them we may draw a picture of the social and religious evils of the time. Listen to Isaiah's sarcastic inventory of the jewellery and the wardrobes of the fashionable ladies of the capital: *the anklets and the networks and the crescents, the pendants and the bracelets and the veils, the head tires and the ankle chains and the sashes and the perfume boxes and the amulets; the rings and the nose jewels; the festival robes and the mantles and the shawls and the satchels, the mirrors and the muslin veils and the turbans and the scarves* (iii. 18 ff.). With contemptuous severity he pictures these haughty daughters of Zion promenading the streets *with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet* with the anklets which they wore.

Listen to the woe which the prophet pronounces upon the revellers who *rise up early in the morning, that they may follow after strong drink, and tarry late into the night, while wine inflames them. And the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts* (v. 11 f.).

Listen to his indictment against the rich men who had accumulated vast estates by ousting poor yeomen from their ancestral holdings in contradiction to the fundamentally democratic spirit of the Israelite commonwealth. *Woe unto them that join house to house, that annex field to field, till there be no room, and ye are left to dwell alone in the midst of the land* (v. 8).

Listen to the cry of the poor, plundered and crushed and ground down, seeking in vain for redress from venal judges who take bribes to acquit the guilty, and condemn the innocent (v. 7, 23). It is the elders and the princes who are to blame. Israel was Jehovah's vineyard, and its ruling classes resembled keepers of a vineyard who had behaved like the cattle which they were set to exclude from it, and had themselves browsed upon it. *It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye that ye crush My people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, Jehovah of hosts* (iii. 14 f.).

Religious indifference accompanied the growth of luxury, and lay at the root of the decay of morality. The worship of Jehovah had degenerated into a heartless though elaborate ceremonial (i. 11 ff.).[1] Idolatry was common; foreign superstitions of all kinds were freely practised; magic and witchcraft and necromancy were resorted to by those who were anxious

[1] A few references are introduced, which, though taken from later prophecies, illustrate the tendencies of this period.

to penetrate into the mystery of the future instead of doing their duty in the present (ii. 6 ff.; iii. 2, 3; viii. 19 f.).

Scornful sceptics denied the providential government of Jehovah, and challenged Him to prove His power by action. *Let Him make speed, let Him hasten His work that we may see it: and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it* (v. 19). Some undermined the foundations of morality; obliterating the distinction between right and wrong, and calling evil good and good evil (v. 20). False prophets misled the people, and drugged their consciences by prophesying smooth things (ix. 15; xxviii. 7; cp. Micah ii. 6; iii. 5, 11); and the people on their part welcomed the delusion, and strove to silence the voice of fearless reproof (xxx. 9 ff.). A complacent self-confidence and a proud reliance in the abundance of their wealth and the strength of their armaments characterised the nation generally. Their defiant independence seemed to proclaim aloud that they had no need of Jehovah to protect their land and their city (ii. 7 ff.; iii. 8).

The impending judgement.

In the face of this state of things Isaiah's message is almost exclusively a message of judgement. The day of Jehovah is at hand; a day of judgement upon all human pride, a day of woe to all those self-satisfied sinners. *Jehovah of hosts hath a day upon all that is proud and haughty, and upon all that is lifted up; and it shall be brought low* (ii. 12). *Jehovah standeth up*

to plead, and standeth to judge the peoples (iii. 13). He will break down the fence of His vineyard, and leave it to be devoured and trodden down. Jehovah's people must go into captivity for lack of knowledge. Sheol will open its jaws, and swallow up all Jerusalem's magnificence and thronging population and noisy crowds of careless holiday-keepers (v. 5 ff., 14). The judgement fell upon them in the invasion of Pekah and Rezin; and in an appendix added apparently after this event Isaiah describes the catastrophe, and, doubtless in view of the spirit in which it had been met, warns the people that Jehovah's anger is not yet turned away, and that He is summoning a yet more terrible enemy from the ends of the earth. He gives that enemy no name, but beyond a question it is the invincible and untiring Assyrian that he has in view (v. 25 ff.).[1]

Yet all this judgement is for purification, not for destruction. A remnant will be left. When chastisement has done its work, *it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy.* Jehovah will once more manifest His Presence there as of old time in a

[1] With some hesitation I have treated the perfects in v. 13-16 as 'prophetic' perfects, or perfects of certainty, referring, by a well-known Hebrew idiom, to that which is still future, but *must* inevitably come. "My people are gone into captivity" = "must surely go." But the natural explanation of v. 25 ff. is to regard it as an addition to the original prophecy, pointing to its fulfilment in the disasters of the Syro-Ephraimite invasion, and warning (*vv.* 26 ff.) that still worse calamities are in store for an unrepentant people.

cloud of smoke by day, and a flaming fire by night (iv. 3, 5).

(ii) Reign of Ahaz. B.C. *735-728.*

It is probable that during part of the sixteen years assigned as the length of Jotham's reign (2 Kings xv. 33) he was acting as regent during his father's enforced seclusion from public affairs, and that his reign as sole king was but a short one. His son Ahaz succeeded him, and the disasters predicted by Isaiah speedily fell upon Judah. Ahaz was a weak, vain, incapable prince, "a child of that spirit of the age against which Isaiah was waging war." The heathenish party, led by the king himself, at once gained the ascendency. Idolatries of all kinds were introduced. The horrors of Moloch-worship were revived. The public worship of Jehovah was suspended.[1]

Meanwhile Ahaz was threatened with invasion. The sole object of the series of unprincipled adventurers who succeeded Jeroboam II in the Northern Kingdom was self-aggrandisement. Casting about for some means of securing himself upon the throne which he had seized by violence, Pekah entered into an alliance with Rezin the king of Syria, for the purpose of conquering Judah. It was a policy as short-sighted as it was unbrotherly, for it could hardly fail to end in the intervention of Assyria. The confederate kings attacked Jotham without success.

[1] See 2 Kings xvi. 3, 4, 10 ff. ; xxiii. 11, 12 ; 2 Chron. xxviii. 2 ff., 23 ff. ; xxix. 7. Isaiah alludes to him as a petulant child (iii. 4, 12).

But the accession of Ahaz was the signal for the renewal of the attack. They invaded Judah with the intention of dethroning Ahaz, and setting up a creature of their own, Ben Tabeel, in his place. Ahaz and his people were in consternation. In the expressive phrase of Isaiah, *his heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind* (vii. 2). It was a critical moment. The only policy which his counsellors could suggest was that he should make a humble submission to Assyria, and throw himself upon Tiglath-Pileser's protection. At this juncture Isaiah was sent to him with a message of warning and encouragement. He went out along with his son Sheār-yāshūb, whose name was a pledge of Jehovah's final purpose of mercy through judgement, and found Ahaz inspecting the water-supply of the city, in preparation for the expected siege. *Take heed, and be quiet,* was his counsel; *fear not, neither let thine heart be faint, because of these two stumps of smouldering firebrands* (vii. 4). It was not from them that Judah had to fear. The power of Syria and Israel was doomed. But, he concludes with significant warning, *if ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established* (vii. 9). The meaning is clear. Ahaz must choose between the policy of faith and the policy of unbelief; between reliance upon Jehovah and reliance upon Tiglath-Pileser. He chose the latter. Tiglath-Pileser's help was given, but not before

the allied kings had inflicted a severe defeat upon Ahaz, captured a host of prisoners, and actually besieged Jerusalem.[1] Probably they were compelled to raise the siege by the news that an Assyrian army was in motion. Tiglath-Pileser invaded Syria and Israel, and carried away the inhabitants of the northern part of the kingdom of Israel into exile. Two years later, in B.C. 732, Damascus was taken. Before he returned home, Tiglath-Pileser held a court at Damascus, at which he received homage from his vassals. Among them, as we learn from his triumphal inscription as well as from the Book of Kings (xvi. 10), was Ahaz. Thus Ahaz was delivered, but at what a price! Not the gold and the silver only, which he took from the treasuries of the Temple and the palace, but the independence of Judah, was the ransom which he paid. From this time onwards, with the exception of brief intervals, Judah was the tributary vassal of Assyria, until for a moment Egypt seized its share of the decaying empire, only to surrender it at once to the still mightier power of Babylon.

Isaiah's watchword in this crisis was *Immanuel*, 'God is with us': as the Psalmist of a few years later expands it—

> *God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;*
> *God shall help her, when the morning dawneth.*

In this hour of Zion's peril and her king's faith-

[1] Isa. vii. 1; v. 25; 2 Chron. xxviii. 5 ff.

lessness, in full view of the dark days of calamity to come, in sight of preparations for war and amid signs of disaster and defeat, with trumpet tones Isaiah rings out that thrilling prophecy of a great light which should dawn upon the darkness, of the final victory of God's people over their oppressors, of the Child of promise who should found an eternal kingdom of peace and righteousness (ix. 1 ff.).

(iii) Reign of Hezekiah. B.C. 728-697.

The reign of Hezekiah forms the third and most brilliant period of Isaiah's ministry. Soon after his accession Hezekiah, stimulated by the warnings of Micah (Jer. xxvi. 18, 19), and supported, no doubt, by Isaiah, carried out a great reformation, abolished idolatry, and restored the worship of Jehovah. The high places, and such objects of superstition as the brazen serpent, were destroyed; the Temple was reopened; the Passover was celebrated. He resumed the policy of Uzziah; strengthened the defences of Jerusalem;[1] filled his arsenals; and recovered some of the prestige which Ahaz had lost. He encouraged agriculture; and we learn from the title of the later collection of Proverbs (xxv. 1) that his scribes were employed upon the collection and preservation of the literature of the country.

Soon after the accession of Hezekiah, Tiglath-Pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV (B.C. 727).

[1] The 'Siloam inscription,' found in 1880, describes the construction of a tunnel connecting the Virgin's Spring with the Pool of Siloam. This may have been the conduit which Hezekiah made to improve the water-supply of the city (2 Kings xx. 20).

Egypt had recently been conquered by Ethiopia, and Shebek I, called by Greek writers Sabaco,[1] reigned at Memphis. Efforts were made to unite the states on the Mediterranean in a coalition with Egypt against Assyria. Hoshea, who had been placed upon the throne as a vassal of Assyria, refused to pay tribute. Shalmaneser invaded the Northern Kingdom, and made Hoshea prisoner. After a three years' siege Samaria was captured in B.C. 722, not however by Shalmaneser but by his successor Sargon, who had just come to the throne. A large number of the Israelites were carried into exile, and their place filled by Babylonians. An Assyrian governor was appointed, and the Northern Kingdom ceased to exist.

It was apparently in these early years of Hezekiah's reign that a strong party in Jerusalem advocated alliance with Egypt. This policy Isaiah resisted with all the eloquence and authority at his command. The series of discourses preserved in chaps. xxviii-xxxi is the record of his efforts.[2] As

[1] In 2 Kings xvii. 4 he is called, according to the Massoretic text, *So*. But this is probably an erroneous vocalisation for *Sĕvĕ*. The identification of So with Shebek has, however, recently been questioned.

[2] Chaps. xxix-xxxi are very commonly referred to B.C. 702, on the ground that xxix. 1 anticipates the siege of Jerusalem within a year. But this interpretation of the verse is very questionable. On the other hand, xxviii. 1 ff. is anterior to the destruction of Samaria, and chaps. xxix-xxxi appear to be closely connected with it. Ch. xxviii. 15 ff. will refer to the Egyptian alliance which was being negotiated, and which is further referred

strongly as he had resisted the fatal determination of Ahaz to call in the aid of Assyria, he now resisted the policy of breaking loose from Assyria in reliance upon Egyptian help, and advocated submission and peace.

We may trace the steps of the negotiations with Egypt in Isaiah's denunciation of the policy of the secular statesmen of Jerusalem. Samaria's destruction is imminent. The ministers of Jehovah's judgement are at hand (xxviii. 1 ff.). But Judah is scarcely less guilty, and stands in need of sharp discipline. The statesmen of Jerusalem indeed boast that they have secured themselves in the coming storm. *We have made a covenant with death, and with Sheol are we at agreement ;*[1] *when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us ; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves* (xxviii. 15). The prophet ironically puts into their own mouths words which describe the true character of the Egyptian alliance upon which they were depending. It was *lies*

to in the following chapters. The references to idolatry (xxx. 22 ; xxxi. 7 ; notice the close parallel to these passages in xvii. 8, about 734) point to a time before Hezekiah's reformation, which must have taken place in the early years of his reign. Ch. xxxiii belongs partly to the time of Sennacherib's invasion (*vv.* 7 ff.), partly to the time immediately after his retreat (*vv.* 13 ff.). Possibly the discourses of chaps. xxviii-xxxi were collected and published with the addition of chaps. xxxii and xxxiii at this time.

[1] Is this passage a reference to Hos. xiii. 14 ? 'Death and hell may have been invoked to do their worst upon the Northern Kingdom (see p. 135), but *we* are secure.'

and *falsehood*, for it involved a breach of faith with Assyria and was in itself a delusion. The foundation of the divine kingdom was laid in Zion; deliverance would come, but not from the quarter to which they looked for it. The storm would burst; the hail would sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters would overflow the hiding-place. If they persisted in their policy, their bands would be made strong (*v.* 22). The yoke of Assyrian domination would be riveted more firmly on their necks. They endeavour to conceal their negotiations from the prophet, but in vain. *Woe unto them that strive to hide their counsel deep from Jehovah, and their work is in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us?* (xxix. 15). He cannot prevent the embassy from being sent, but he exposes its folly and uselessness. *Woe to the rebellious children, saith Jehovah; taking counsel but not of Me, and weaving a web, but not of My spirit, in order to add sin to sin: that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth; to shelter themselves in the shelter of Pharaoh, and to take refuge in the shadow of Egypt. But the shelter of Pharaoh shall prove your shame, and refuge in the shadow of Egypt your disgrace* (xxx. 1 ff.). The real grounds of their hankering for alliance with Egypt were mistrust of Jehovah, and confidence in material power. *Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and rely upon horses; and trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very*

strony; but they have not looked to the Holy One of Israel, neither sought Jehovah. . . . But the Egyptians are man, and not God; and their horses are flesh, and not spirit: and when Jehovah stretcheth forth His hand, both helper and holpen shall stumble and fall, and they shall all fail together (xxxi. 1, 3).

Either in consequence of Isaiah's influence or owing to external circumstances, Judah did not revolt, and Jerusalem escaped the fate of Samaria. Two years later (B.C. 720) Sargon totally defeated Sabaco in the battle of Raphia, and verified Isaiah's warnings of the futility of reliance upon Egypt. Nine years later (B.C. 711) Sargon's armies were in Palestine again. Ashdod, depending apparently upon Egyptian help, had revolted and endeavoured to get neighbouring states to join it. Its presumption was speedily chastised, and the Egyptians left it in the lurch.

For some time the Assyrians appear to have left Palestine alone, and it may be inferred that Judah and the neighbouring countries paid their tribute quietly. Again and again Isaiah, while advocating submission to the yoke of Assyria, repeats that this scourge of God is but a servant in the hand of his master. Not a step further can he go than he is permitted; and the time will come when his pride must be humbled and he will be taught to recognise Jehovah's supremacy.[1]

[1] See *e.g.* x. 5 ff., belonging probably to the time of Sargon.

The death of Sargon and the accession of Sennacherib in B.C. 705 led to a change in the position of affairs. Merodach-baladan of Babylon revolted, and endeavoured to stir up the western states to revolt also. The opportunity seemed favourable, and Hezekiah asserted his independence. Sennacherib promptly came to chastise his rebellious vassal. The last hour of Jerusalem seemed to have come. The exact course of events is obscure, but it appears that Sennacherib ravaged Judah, forced Hezekiah to submit, and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity, without however requiring the surrender of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 13-16). But reflection convinced him that it would be imprudent to leave so strong a fortress in Hezekiah's hands while he marched on to Egypt; and he therefore detached a force under the Tartan and the Rabsaris and the Rabshakeh[1] to threaten Jerusalem, and demand its surrender. Though the force was insufficient to invest the city, a refusal seemed certain to ensure condign chastisement when Sennacherib returned victorious from his Egyptian campaign. What should Hezekiah do? In his extremity he sent to Isaiah for advice. The prophet bade him not to fear, and Sennacherib's

[1] These are not proper names, but titles of Assyrian officers. Tartan = *commander-in-chief;* Rabsaris, according to Pinches' recent discovery (*Academy*, 25th June 1892, p. 618) = Rabu-sa-resu, *chief of the heads* or *princes;* Rabshakeh = Rab-saki, *chief of the captains.* The two last titles have been Hebraised in a form which gives them a wrong meaning. *The chief of the eunuchs* and *the chief of the cup-bearers* would hardly be military officers.

demands were refused. Rabshakeh returned to his master, who was now besieging Libnah. Gladly no doubt would he have inflicted a summary vengeance. But Tirhakah's army was already on the march, and he was forced to content himself by replying to Hezekiah's defiance with fresh threats. The letter which he sent to Hezekiah was a contemptuous denial of Jehovah's power to defend Jerusalem. Hezekiah took the letter to the Temple, and *spread it before Jehovah,* with earnest prayer that He whose honour had been impeached would vindicate His claim to be the living God.

Then it was that Isaiah uttered that sublime prophecy in which this period of his ministry culminates. Sennacherib's proud words, he declared, were rank blasphemy. He knew not who it was whom he had defied. But now that haughty spirit would find that he had met his master. *I will put My hook in thy nose, and My bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.* Jehovah's city should be inviolate. *He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. . . . For I will defend this city to save it, for Mine own sake, and for My servant David's sake* (xxxvii. 29, 33, 35).

And so it came to pass. *The angel of Jehovah went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand.* What form that sudden and mysterious catastrophe wore to human

eyes, we do not know. Probably it was a pestilence. Unable to face Tirhakah's army, Sennacherib turned homewards, leaving Jerusalem unharmed. Twenty years later he died by the hands of his own sons as he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch.

So, as ever, man's extremity was God's opportunity. Isaiah lived to see his own prophecies fulfilled, and to prove God's faithfulness to His promises. In a passage of singular poetic power and beauty he celebrates the deliverance[1] (xxxiii. 13 ff.). He looks for its moral effect upon the sinners in Zion. Surely now they will be startled into repentance by the visible tokens of God's presence in their midst. Once more the people of Judah will see their king restored to his proper dignity, and his kingdom extending to its old limits. The recollection of the terrors of the invasion, the preparations for the siege, the fierce looks and strange language of the Assyrian invader, will deepen their sense of gratitude for deliverance. Jerusalem will enjoy a perfect peace. *Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities. Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tent that shall never be removed, the stakes whereof shall never be plucked up, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.* And in his closing words the prophet sees the final goal as though it were close before him. *The inhabitant shall*

[1] Psalms xlvi-xlviii and probably lxxv, lxxvi belong to this time, and should be read in illustration of Zion's jubilant thankfulness.

not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.

But the conditions were not fulfilled. Even this proof of Jehovah's Presence failed to convince the impenitent people. The righteousness for which He looked was still wanting. The spiritual Israel had not yet been formed out of the carnal Israel.

V

Isaiah's theology.

Isaiah towers above all the other prophets before and after. It seems almost presumptuous, in the case of so many-sided a genius, to attempt to single out special and distinctive elements in his teaching. But even Isaiah has his distinguishing characteristics. Every prophet was a theologian. His teaching rested upon that aspect of the divine character which had been specially brought home to his consciousness. But Isaiah is pre-eminently a theologian. The vision in which he received his call was a revelation of the Glory of Jehovah, exhibiting the supreme attributes of Majesty and Holiness. An overwhelming sense of these attributes was burnt into his inmost soul. It shaped his view of Jehovah's relation to Israel and of Israel's behaviour to Jehovah, and formed the inspiration and dominating idea of his teaching.

What God is in the ineffable reality of His absolute Essence man cannot understand. Upon the

consuming intensity of that light unapproachable in which He dwells no human eye can gaze. But what man may know and behold of that divine perfection is revealed as God's glory. It is manifested in nature, in history, in revelation. *The whole earth is full of His glory.* And in this supreme moment of Isaiah's life the glory of God's majesty and the glory of God's holiness were flashed into Isaiah's soul. The revelation of the divine majesty awakened in him the sense of creaturely weakness, of his own insignificance: the revelation of the divine holiness aroused the sense of human sinfulness, of his own transgression. In the light of God's glory man shrivels awestruck into nothing; shrinks conscience-smitten and abashed from the Presence he cannot endure. These two ruling ideas of the majesty and the holiness of Jehovah come into prominence in successive periods of his work. Neither is ever absent from his mind, but the first distinguishes the earlier and the second the later period of his ministry.

(1) *The majesty of Jehovah.*

The majesty of Jehovah was a predominant idea in Isaiah's teaching during the reign of Jotham. It was, as we have seen, a period in which long years of prosperity were bearing bitter fruit. Signs of careless luxury and proud independence met the prophet's eye and ear wherever he turned. Superstition, idolatry, scepticism, infested the whole country. The cry of the poor for their lawful rights was

unheeded. The processes of justice were perverted to the ends of oppression. Those vast estates, made by dispossessing small holders from their ancestral holdings; those splendid palaces with their sumptuous banquets and riotous revels; those extravagant wardrobes and costly jewels with which the grand ladies of Jerusalem adorned themselves; those horses and chariots, those forts and towers, those fleets and armies, of which the statesmen of Judah boasted as an impregnable defence; those private chapels with their gold and silver images; those secret rites performed by some cunning soothsayer from Philistia or the East; that reckless indifference to truth and right and justice which was compatible with the most profuse outward ceremonies of worship;—what were all these but a deification of wealth and power and selfish pleasure and reckless ambition; an insolent defiance of the supreme majesty of Jehovah of hosts? This was the aspect of Israel's sins which presented itself to Isaiah's mind in this period. Man seemed in his complacent self-aggrandisement to have forgotten his Maker; Israel had defiantly flung off the obligation of allegiance to its King; the indictment against them is summed up in the words, *Their tongue and their doings are against Jehovah, to provoke the eyes of His glory* (iii. 8).

Therefore Jehovah must vindicate His character. The day of Jehovah is at hand, in which all human pride and worldly greatness will be humbled before

the terrible manifestation of His majesty. *Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, from before the terror of Jehovah, and from the glory of His majesty. The lofty looks of man shall be brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and Jehovah alone shall be exalted in that day.* Men will fling away their impotent idols to the moles and to the bats, and flee to hide themselves *from before the terror of Jehovah, and from the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake mightily the earth* (ii. 10 ff., 17, 19 ff.; cp. v. 15). In that day He will prove to the trembling and astonished people His paramount supremacy. He will demonstrate that He is the jealous God, Who tolerates no rival, and cannot be satisfied with a half-hearted allegiance. Throughout the group of prophecies from the reign of Jotham (chaps. ii-v) the idea which moves the prophet's mind is the sense of Jehovah's majesty, outraged and insulted by Judah's proud independence and speedily to be vindicated by a searching judgement.

That judgement fell upon Judah in the attack of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance in the reign of Ahaz; in the humiliation which it suffered by other defeats, and by its ignominious submission to Assyria; ultimately in Sennacherib's invasion, in which, though in the end it was delivered, the country suffered heavily from the ravages of war and the large indemnity which it paid. The judgement fell upon Israel in the internecine feuds which sapped its

strength and precipitated its ruin, and in the successive invasions of the Assyrians, by which the kingdom was first curtailed and then destroyed.

But judgement was in store for Assyria also. The Assyrian had a commission from Jehovah. He was the rod of Jehovah's anger, and the staff in his hand was Jehovah's indignation. But he knew it not. He too would grow proud in his own conceit, and fancy himself the lord of all the world, and boast, *By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent.* And therefore it will come to pass, that *when the Lord has performed His whole work upon mount Zion and upon Jerusalem,* He *will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks* (x. 5 ff., 12, 13). The majesty which must first be vindicated in punishing His own people for their pride would afterwards be exhibited in vengeance upon their enemies. *Jehovah is exalted, for He dwelleth on high,* was the moral of Sennacherib's humiliation (xxxiii. 5); and the triumph song which is put into the mouth of the redeemed in the day of their deliverance repeats the same theme:—

> *Give thanks unto Jehovah, call upon His Name;*
> *Make known His doings among the peoples,*
> *Make mention that His name is exalted* (xii. 4).

(2) *The holiness of Jehovah.*

Still loftier and more comprehensive than the idea of Jehovah's majesty is the idea of His holiness.

Holy, holy, holy, was the cry which Isaiah heard from the lips of the adoring Seraphim; and he chooses the title *the Holy One of Israel* to describe the relation of Jehovah to His people. What then is the meaning of the divine attribute of holiness? and in what sense does Isaiah employ the title *Holy One of Israel?*

Holiness is not of course an attribute now for the first time ascribed to Jehovah. It is used by Isaiah's predecessors.[1] To Amos it is the essential characteristic of Deity. *The Lord Jehovah,* he says, *hath sworn by His holiness* (iv. 2). That is synonymous with swearing *by Himself* (vi. 8). In Hosea He proclaims Himself to be the Holy One in the midst of Ephraim (xi. 9; cp. 12).

Nor is it a title which was limited to the sphere of revelation. Other Semitic nations applied it to their gods;[2] but revelation takes it, and invests it with a deeper significance. Primarily the Hebrew root from which the word is derived seems to denote *separation.* It represents God as distinct from man, separate from the creation which He has called into existence. Then, since limit is the necessary con-

[1] Whether its use can be carried back to the Mosaic age will depend upon the view taken of the date of the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 11), and of the ideas which have taken final shape in Leviticus (xix. 2, etc.). But it cannot be new to Amos and Hosea.

[2] *The holy gods* occurs in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar king of Sidon, in the fourth century B.C. (*Corp. Inscr. Sem.* i, p. 14.)

dition of created things, and imperfection and sinfulness are the marks of humanity in its fallen state, the term grows to denote the separation of God from all that is limited, imperfect, and sinful. But it does not rest here in a merely negative conception. It expands so as to include the whole essential nature of God in its moral aspect. This it is which evokes the unceasing adoration of angelic beings. His purity and His righteousness, His faithfulness and His truth, His mercy and His lovingkindness, nay even His jealousy and His wrath, His zeal and His indignation,—these are the different rays which combine to make up the perfect light of holiness. It is the moral nature of God, which man's dull soul can but dimly imagine; for what does he know of absolute truth and righteousness and love? what of the consuming indignation which the sight of sin must stir in Him Whose nature is an intense zeal for truth and righteousness? what of the reconciliation of apparently opposing attributes in perfect unity of will and purpose?

God is holy; persons, places, and things set apart for His service are holy by virtue of that consecration; and of men there is demanded an inward holiness which shall, in its measure, reflect the holiness of God.

The character of God as the Holy One in His relation to Israel is expressed by the title *the Holy One of Israel*. This title appears to have been coined by Isaiah. At any rate it is almost peculiar to the

Book of Isaiah.[1] It is characteristic of the second part of the book as well as of the first, and forms one of the most noteworthy links of connexion between them.

Let us try to realise its significance. Jehovah is the thrice holy God. This holy God, in all the fulness of His Deity, has entered into personal relations with Israel. He is Israel's God. They are His people. He is therefore their Holy One, and His express claim upon them is, *Ye shall be holy, for I am holy* (Lev. xi. 44, 45; xix. 2; xx. 7, 26; xxi. 8): *ye shall be unto Me a holy nation* (Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2, 21; xxvi. 19; xxviii. 9).[2] They are to reflect and exhibit to the world Jehovah's character. They are to be His witnesses. Perhaps originally this meant little more than that they were to be a separate people, distinguished by their allegiance to Jehovah; but as His character was gradually revealed to them in Law and Prophecy, the claim on Israel grew to have a deeper meaning. Then it was that the divorce between calling and practice grew to be startling. The people fancied that they had a right to claim Jehovah's faithfulness to His covenant, while

[1] It occurs three times in the Psalter (lxxi. 22; lxxviii. 41; lxxxix. 18): twice in Jeremiah, but in chapters which appear to be the work of a follower of Jeremiah, and are largely dependent on the Book of Isaiah (l. 29; li. 5): once in a modified form in Ezekiel (xxxix. 7, *the Holy One in Israel*). Cp. too Hos. xi. 9; Hab. i. 12.

[2] Whatever view is taken of the date of the documents from which these words are quoted, the ideas contained in them are presupposed by Isaiah.

they were at liberty to sit loose to the obligations which it imposed upon them.

So Isaiah comes forward to assert this neglected truth of the holiness of Israel's God. It has a double aspect. It is a truth of terror, and a truth of consolation. Jehovah must vindicate His neglected holiness, not less than His outraged majesty, by the chastisement of His people's sins. Yet equally must He vindicate it by the defence of His people and the destruction of their enemies.

At the beginning of the book, in an address which serves as a general introduction, although not delivered until the reign of Ahaz at the earliest, Isaiah strikes this note. The children whom Jehovah has brought up and raised to high estate have rebelled against Him. They are not a holy nation, but a sinful nation. *They have forsaken Jehovah, they have despised the Holy One of Israel* (i. 4). The thought is developed in the parable of the vineyard in ch. v. The manifold and tender care of Jehovah for the people of His choice had not resulted in the fruit which He desired. When He looked that His vineyard should bring forth grapes, it brought forth wild grapes. Again their transgression is summed up in the sentence, *They have rejected the teaching of Jehovah of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel* (v. 24). The enormity of those sins of covetousness and violence and profligacy and debauchery was only aggravated by the insulting hypocrisy of a ceremonial

worship, which was abomination to Jehovah, while they professed to honour Him, though their hearts were far from Him. It reached its climax in the audacity of a scepticism which challenged Him to prove His claim to be the Holy One of Israel by action. *Let Him make speed, let Him hasten His work, that we may see it; and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it!* (v. 19). Therefore in the impending day of judgement the holiness not less than the majesty of Jehovah will be vindicated. When *men are bowed down, and great men humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled,* then *Jehovah of hosts will be exalted in judgement and God the Holy One will be proved holy in righteousness* (v. 15, 16).

In the later period of Isaiah's ministry the doctrine of the Holy One of Israel became still more prominent in his teaching. In that crisis when the policy of the worldly-wise statesmen in Jerusalem threatened to entangle Judah in an alliance with Egypt, and involve it in the ruin which befell Samaria, Isaiah unhesitatingly bade his countrymen rely upon the Holy One of Israel. If they would remain quiet, and obey His message, and conform to His will, then in His own time He would be gracious to them, and deliver them from the oppression of the Assyrian tyrant. His honour was pledged to defend His own people. But they were for the most part faithless. The worldly spirit predominated. *Thus*

said the Lord Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, By returning from your self-chosen policy *and keeping still shall ye be saved; in tranquillity and in confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not* (xxx. 15). Mockingly they taunted the prophet and his companions with their great watchword. *Cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us,* they cried (xxx. 11); and instead of looking to the Holy One of Israel, and seeking Jehovah, they sent their ambassadors to ask for the help of Egypt, and put their trust in chariots and in horsemen (xxxi. 1).

Calmly Isaiah continued to proclaim his double message of judgement and deliverance. *Thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word,* namely the prophetic exhortation to rely upon Jehovah, *and trust in oppression,* which they must use to extort means for purchasing the help of Egypt, *and in perverseness,* namely the policy of secret intrigue, *and rely upon it; therefore this iniquity shall prove to you like a breach ready to fall, bulging out in a lofty wall, whose ruin cometh suddenly in an instant* (xxx. 12, 13). Yet Jehovah will protect Jerusalem, like the mother bird hovering over its nest to protect its young, *passing over it and preserving it,* as of old He passed over the houses of the Israelites when He destroyed the Egyptians (xxxi. 5).

The Egyptian policy failed, and the danger was averted. The shock of the fall of Samaria may have contributed to induce the obstinate people to give

heed to the warnings of the prophets, and enabled Hezekiah to effect the reformation of which we read in the Book of Kings.

It was not till some twenty years afterwards that the great crisis came. Then, at the moment when all seemed lost, the Holy One of Israel proved Himself to be all that He had promised. Sennacherib's blasphemous message, contemptuously lowering Jehovah to the level of the gods of the nations whose cities he had destroyed, was a flat defiance of the Holy One of Israel. Little did the proud king know Whom he had challenged. *Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel* (xxxvii. 23). In the uttermost extremity and not until then, Jehovah shewed Himself to be the Holy One of Israel, and vindicated His holiness not less than His majesty in the deliverance of His city and His people.

The great thoughts of the majesty and the holiness of Jehovah shape and colour Isaiah's hopes for the future. It is worth while noticing how entirely the author of the Book of Consolation (Is. xl-lxvi) enters into the spirit of his master when he represents the redemption of Israel from Babylon as the characteristic work of Israel's Holy One. This, however, lies outside our present subject. But what Isaiah himself looks forward to as the goal of all God's dealings with His people is the production of a holy nation.

In that gloomiest moment, when he is warned that the effect of his preaching must be to harden an already obdurate nation, he is assured that there is still *a holy seed* within it (vi. 13); and *when the Lord shall have purged the blood-guiltiness of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgement and by the spirit of burning,* then *he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy* (iv. 3, 4). In the day when Ephraim and Syria are humbled, men will no more resort to their altars and their idols, but will look unto their Maker and have respect unto the Holy One of Israel (xvii. 7, 8). When *the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame,* consuming the mighty Assyrian power like a heap of thorns and briars, *the remnant of Israel, and they that are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them, but shall stay upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth* (x. 17, 20).

When the great transformation comes, *the meek shall increase their joy in Jehovah, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel* (xxix. 19). In that day men's spiritual sight will no more be blinded; their spiritual ears will no more be deaf. *The deaf shall hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness* (xxix. 18). When they see the manifest tokens of Jehovah's Presence in their midst, *the sinners in Zion are afraid:* when they reflect on His judgements

upon themselves and upon the terrible enemy of the nation, *trembling surprises the godless ones. Who of us,* they ask, *can sojourn in a consuming fire? who of us can sojourn in perpetual burnings?* Who indeed can endure the Presence of the most Holy God, Who burns and devours His enemies like thorns and thistles? This is the prophet's answer: *He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly; that rejecteth the gain of fraud, and shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil; he shall dwell on high; strongholds of the rocks shall be his refuge; his bread shall be given him; his water shall be sure* (xxxiii. 13 ff.). Israel will recognise the holiness of Jehovah, and reverence His majesty. *When his children see the work of My hands in the midst of him, they shall hallow My Name; yea they shall hallow the Holy One of Jacob, and stand in awe of the God of Israel* (xxix. 23).

The triumph song of the redeemed closes with the call to joyful adoration:

> *Give thanks unto Jehovah, call upon His Name;*
> *Make known His doings among the peoples,*
> *Make mention that His Name is exalted.*
> *Cry aloud and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion;*
> *For great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.*
> (xii. 4, 6.)

VI

Messianic prophecies.

Isaiah's preaching concerned the present. It found its occasion and its object in the needs and the circumstances of his own day. But it is constantly reaching out beyond the immediate present into the future of the divine purpose. The course of God's dealings with His people, and in a measure with the nations also, is through judgement to redemption. The goal of His purposes is the establishment of a kingdom of peace and righteousness, the centre of light and salvation for the nations. The establishment of this kingdom is connected with the coming of a personal Deliverer, a King who is to spring from the house of David. Its seat is to be in Zion, purified and regenerated through judgement.

Ch. ii. 2-4

To his earliest collection of discourses Isaiah has prefixed a brief prophecy, taken from Micah or from some older prophet,[1] in which the future destiny of Zion is described. It serves as a foundation for the prophet's call to repentance, and as a foil to the description of Judah's sin, shewing the depth of its fall by contrast with the sublimity of its mission. In

[1] For our present purpose it is immaterial whether the words are Micah's own, or, as many think, borrowed by him as well as by Isaiah from some older prophet. Their loose connexion with the context shews that they are not Isaiah's own, but he appropriates them by quoting them. I see no sufficient reason for regarding them as merely the insertion of a compiler. On the other hand, they are firmly embedded in the context in Micah.

the after-days Zion is to be the spiritual centre of the nations. Its spiritual pre-eminence is represented under the figure of a physical elevation of the temple-mount. Thither not Israel only but the nations of the world will go up to worship, and to learn from Israel's God. Thence will proceed the divine revelation. The nations will obey Jehovah's rule, and universal peace will be established (ii. 2 ff.). There is no hint here of a personal Messiah. Jehovah Himself is the Teacher and the Ruler. The form of the prophecy is suggested by the pilgrimages of worshippers to the Temple. Its spirit is the truth that in the divine purpose Zion was to be the centre of the world's salvation (John iv. 22).

The full grandeur of this prophecy is only seen when it is brought into relation with the circumstances of the time. When religion and morals were at the lowest ebb; when Israel instead of converting the nations to the worship of Jehovah was being perverted by their superstitions; when the nations, instead of coming to pay homage to the God of Jacob, were threatening to crush His people out of existence; at such an inauspicious moment Isaiah authoritatively repeats the prophecy which predicts the spiritual supremacy of Zion, and the establishment of an universal peace.

Ch. iv. 2. The group of prophecies which thus opens with the ideal of Israel's destiny ends with the description of Zion purified through judgement, and protected

by the Presence of Jehovah in her midst, which we have already had occasion to consider (p. 159). That prophecy is sometimes thought to contain a reference to a personal Messiah. *In that day,* it runs, *shall the growth* [tsemach] *of Jehovah be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel* (iv. 2). These words are thus paraphrased in the Targum: "At that time shall the Messiah of Jehovah be a joy and a glory, and they that keep the law shall be an honour and praise to them that are delivered of Israel." Such a personal interpretation, however, does not lie in the context. The renewed fertility of the land is a constant feature in the pictures of the Messianic age, and it is to this that the words primarily refer. Jehovah makes His land bring forth and bud and bear fruit for His restored people, and they find their fullest satisfaction in Him and in His gifts, instead of craving for material splendour and worldly aggrandisement.

But though a personal reference cannot be intended here, it is possible that the passage may be the source of the term *Tsemach,* 'Shoot' or 'Growth' (A.V. 'Branch'), applied to the Messiah in later times. Jeremiah speaks of the Messiah as the *shoot* or *growth* from the stock of David (Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15); and Zechariah treats it as a recognised title of the Messianic King (iii. 8; vi. 12). The use of the term is at once limited and elevated. Isaiah's words may

include those spiritual gifts of which material blessings are the symbol (lxi. 11); and of all the blessings which Jehovah will cause to spring up for His land and people, the chief will be that King of David's line in whom the hopes of his nation are centred.

Ch. vii. 14 ff. In no case perhaps is it so difficult to disengage the mind from the associations of its ultimate fulfilment, and to endeavour to ascertain its original meaning, as in the case of the prophecy of Immanuel. But it is clear that the words, *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel,* were not, in their original intention, a prediction of the miraculous birth of Jesus. Isaiah is giving Ahaz the sign, for which, with a spurious assumption of piety, he had refused to ask. Now an event which was not to happen for more than seven centuries could not form a sign to Ahaz. Moreover, the context proceeds to speak of what is shortly to happen. Before the child who is to be called Immanuel arrives at years of discretion, the power of Syria and Ephraim will be humbled. It is in the immediate future that he is to be born. Accordingly some commentators regard Immanuel as the Messiah whose advent Isaiah expected to fall within the period of the Assyrian troubles. But this view cannot be regarded as satisfactory, though it commends itself to many able interpreters. Such a "perspective combination of events lying far apart"

is not indeed contrary to the general conditions of prophecy. Isaiah seems to have looked for the complete regeneration of the nation immediately after the deliverance from Assyria, much as the Apostles looked for the final coming of the Lord in their own lifetime. But the child Immanuel is not connected with the house of David, nor is he spoken of as a deliverer. And the fatal objection to this theory is that an event which did not happen could not possibly form a sign to Ahaz.

The true explanation appears to be that the sign consists not in any miraculous circumstances connected with the birth of the child,[1] but in that which is to happen before the child comes to years of discretion. Some mother known to Ahaz and the prophet, but of whom we know nothing, who was soon to give birth to a child, or possibly any woman who was about to become a mother, is told that she may call her son Immanuel. She may with confidence give him a name significant of the Presence of God with His people. That Presence will be manifested in deliverance and in judgement. It will be manifested by the fulfilment of the prophet's declaration, that from Rezin and Pekah Ahaz has

[1] The Hebrew word rendered *virgin* in the A.V. would be more accurately rendered *damsel*. It means a young woman of marriageable age, and is not the word which would be naturally used for *virgin*, if that was the point which it was desired to emphasise. The definite article (*the damsel*) may refer to a particular young woman, or it may be generic, and refer to any young woman who was about to become a mother.

nothing to fear. Before the child comes to years of discretion, the land whose two kings Ahaz now dreads shall be desolate. But there is another side to the sign. The child must feed on curds and honey. This does not mean the usual food of childhood, or a luxurious diet. It implies that the land will be uncultivated, and relapse into a rough pasture, furnishing milk and wild honey, and nothing more.[1] Judgement will fall upon Judah, and that from the very quarter to which Ahaz was now looking for help, the King of Assyria (*v.* 17). The course of events will prove to the unbelieving king that Jehovah holds supreme control over the history of the world and the destinies of His people.

In virtue of his significant name, a representative character attaches to Immanuel. He is the pledge for his generation of the truth expressed in his name, as Isaiah's children by their names were living exponents of other truths which he proclaimed. Accordingly when Isaiah foretells that the flood of Assyrian invasion, pouring over Syria and Ephraim, will sweep onward into Judah, he calls Judah Immanuel's land, the home of him whose name is a constant reminder of the presence of God and a pledge of deliverance (viii. 8). The significance of this is plain from what follows. The nations may make an uproar, but they shall be broken in pieces ;

[1] Cp. vii. 21-25, which confirms this explanation of the meaning of eating curds and honey, as a threat and not a promise.

they may take counsel, but it shall be brought to nought; for *Immānū El*, 'With us is God.'

If this view is correct, the sign given to Ahaz is not a direct prophecy of the Messiah and of the miraculous manner of His birth, any more than the second Psalm is a direct prophecy of the Resurrection, or Hosea xi. 1 a direct prophecy of the Flight into Egypt.[1] But as the words which in the Psalm referred primarily to the adoptive sonship of the king are applied in the New Testament to the eternal sonship of Christ, so the name given as the pledge of the presence of God with His people becomes the name of Him who was the mediator of that presence. The words describing His birth receive a profound depth of meaning, which they admit, though they do not necessarily convey it. The name itself becomes the expression of the mysterious fact of the Incarnation. Jesus is the true Immanuel, and in Him the prophet's utterance is fulfilled.

The house of David was represented by a faithless and apostate prince in Ahaz. Its enemies were plotting its destruction. It must have seemed hopeless to look for deliverance from such a quarter. But with the fearless courage of inspiration Isaiah proclaims that it is still God's purpose to establish His kingdom of peace and righteousness by the *Ch. ix. 1–7.*

[1] St. Matthew introduces the quotation of Hos. xi. 1 with the same words as that of Isa. vii. 14: *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet.*

means of a scion of the house of David. He sees the dawn breaking over that part of Israel which had suffered most from the Assyrian invasion.[1] He sees the power of Israel's oppressor broken as in the day when Gideon with his handful of warriors broke the power of Midian. He sees the instruments of war piled together on the battlefield, and burnt.

The people that walked in the darkness have seen great light,
Those that dwelt in the land of deathly gloom, upon them hath light shone.
Thou hast increased the nation,[2]
Thou hast made great its joy;
They joy before Thee with joy like that of harvest,
As men rejoice when they divide the spoil.
For the yoke of his burden, and the rod of his back,
The staff of his oppressor, hast Thou broken as in the day of Midian.
For every boot of booted warrior tramping noisily,
And every garment rolled in blood,
Shall be for burning, for fuel of fire.

And how has this been brought to pass? Because

A child is born to us,
A son is given to us,
And the principality rests upon his shoulder,

[1] In quite an unexpected way the prophecy which seems to predict only a temporal restoration receives a spiritual fulfilment (Matt. iv. 13 ff.). Despised Galilee becomes the scene of Christ's ministry. That which suffered most is most honoured: that which was most despised is selected for special privilege.

[2] Or, according to a very generally accepted emendation, *Thou hast increased the rejoicing.*

And his name is called Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace.

Of the increase of his principality and of peace there shall be no end,

Upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it,

With judgement and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever (ix. 2–7).

The fourfold name of this prince declares his marvellous nature, and proclaims him to be, in an extraordinary and mysterious way, the representative of Jehovah. The title *Wonderful Counsellor* conveys the idea of his endowment with supernatural wisdom in that counsel which was peculiarly the function of a king.[1] *Mighty God* expresses his divine greatness and power, as the unique representative of Jehovah, who is Himself *the mighty God* (x. 21).[2] *Eternal Father* describes his paternal tenderness and unending care for his people. *Prince of Peace* denotes the character and the end of his government. His advent is still future but it is assured. *The zeal of Jehovah of hosts will perform this.*

In another prophecy the character of this king and his rule is described. The Assyrian has fallen. The mighty forest of Lebanon has been hewn down *Ch. xi. 1 ff.*

[1] Cp. xxviii. 29; Mic. iv. 9.

[2] "In such passages the Old Testament revelation falls into a self-contradiction, from which only a miracle has been able to deliver us, the Incarnation of the Son of God" (Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 274).

(x. 33 f.). But *out of the stock of Jesse shall come forth a shoot, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit.* The spirit of Jehovah in all its manifold fulness will rest upon him to fit him for his office, which he will exercise with perfect righteousness and equity. The peace of Paradise will be restored in nature. *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Jehovah, as the waters cover the sea* (xi. 1-9).

He will be the signal for that gathering of the nations to Zion which had already been foretold. Israel's exiles will be brought home from the lands whither they have been scattered. Ephraim and Judah will live in perfect harmony. The return will be like a second Exodus; and the prophet concludes by putting into the mouth of the restored people a song like that which Israel sang upon the shore of the Red Sea (ch. xii).

Thus when the kingdom was in the lowest depth of degradation, Isaiah foretold the Advent of the ideal King of David's line, the pledge and mediator of God's presence among His people, to effect the destruction of their foes, and establish a kingdom of peace and righteousness, the rallying point for all the nations of the earth.

The inviolability of Zion.

Another series of prophecies relates to Zion as the seat of God's kingdom. In the days when Zion was threatened with destruction, Isaiah asserts its permanence. Worldly-minded politicians were intriguing

for an alliance with Egypt, a policy at once faithless and fatal. In contrast to that policy is the *tried stone*, the *precious corner-stone of sure foundation* which Jehovah has laid in Zion. The language is a metaphor from the solid and costly foundations of the Temple. What is that stone of sure foundation? Not the city, nor the Temple, nor the house of David, but the divine plan of which that house is the outward expression. Jehovah has laid the foundation of His kingdom in Zion ; but the building upon it must be reared with the line of judgement and the plummet of righteousness. Faith is the condition of tranquil security in the midst of danger (xxviii. 16 f.).

This prophecy is re-echoed in Ps. cxviii. 22 : *The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.* It is fulfilled in Christ, as the personal embodiment of the divine purpose, the foundation of God's kingdom in the Church.[1]

The necessity and the certainty of judgement on the one hand, and the inviolability of Zion on the other, form the groundwork of the prophecies of this period (xxix. 3 ff.). And beyond the judgement, as we have seen, conversion, reformation, pardon, the transformation of nature for God's purified people, open up a vista of wondrous possibilities. The rule of the perfect king is responded to by the nobility of a regenerate and instructed people (xxxii. 1 ff.) ; but only through judgement will the end be reached, when

[1] See Rom. ix. 33 ; 1 Pet. ii. 6 ff. Cp. Matt. xxi. 42 ; Acts iv. 11.

the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever.

The first series of prophecies presents the promise of the personal Messiah, the ideal King. The second series assures the permanence of that kingdom which is God's means for realising His purpose upon earth.

The nations. Thus we are brought to the series of prophecies relating to the nations. The oracles upon the nations are for the most part threatenings of judgement. Yet the purpose, generally set forth in ch. ii. 2 ff. and ch. xi. 10, shines through in several passages. Moab is exhorted to seek the protection of the true king who is to sit on David's throne, but Moab's pride is a fatal hindrance (xvi. 1 ff.). Isaiah anticipates the homage of the Ethiopians to Jehovah when they see the judgement fall upon the Assyrians. *At that time shall a present be brought unto Jehovah of hosts of a people tall and smooth, and from a people terrible from their beginning onward . . . to the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, the mount Zion* (xviii. 7).

But prophecy reaches its climax when Isaiah looks forward to the reconciliation of those bitter foes, Egypt and Assyria, with Israel and with one another. Israel, the victim of both, becomes the bond which unites them. *Jehovah shall make Himself known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know Jehovah in that day. . . . In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and the*

Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that Jehovah of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine inheritance (xix. 21, 23 ff.).

These nations represent the nations of the world; their reconciliation signifies the eventual incorporation of even its most deadly enemies in the kingdom of God. The prediction can never be literally realised for these nations, because they have ceased to exist; but it will yet be realised in that great peace of the world, which is the hope of all the nations of mankind.[1]

Fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies.

Isaiah's prophecies received signal, if only partial, fulfilment in his own lifetime. Judgement fell upon Judah. The coalition of Syria and Ephraim came to nothing. Assyria proved to be the real source of danger. But Assyria could not move one step further than Jehovah permitted it. When it threatened the existence of His people, He interposed, as Isaiah had confidently predicted. The deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib was the most conspicuous attestation of his divine commission. It shewed that the Holy One of Israel was in the midst of His people. They had not waited for Him in vain. But Isaiah seems to have looked forward to that great deliverance as the dividing line between the present and the

[1] Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 208.

future, as the crisis which would usher in *the after-days* for which he looked. He seems to have anticipated the Advent of the perfect King and the regeneration of the people within a measurable distance, if not in his own lifetime. The divine purposes were revealed to him, but the time and the manner of the accomplishment of those purposes were not revealed to him. He saw them from afar, yet they seemed to be close at hand, like the distant peak which the Alpine traveller sees towering majestically into the sky, apparently close beyond the grassy slope upon which he stands. Nor need we be surprised that it was so. If the closest followers of the Lord, at the critical moment when He was about to leave them, were warned that it was not for them *to know times or seasons* (Acts i. 7), is it strange that such knowledge was withheld from the Old Testament seers? They *sought and searched diligently . . . what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto;* and it was revealed unto them, sometimes by the course of events interpreted by that Spirit, sometimes doubtless by the direct teaching of that Spirit, that their prophecies were not for themselves but for a future generation (1 Pet. i. 10 ff.).

All prophecy is conditional, and the realisation of the promises with which Isaiah was charged depended upon the attitude of the people. But not even the mighty deliverance which they experienced

could awaken them to repentance and faith. The result was inevitable. The depth of Judah's fall was proportionate to the height of grace to which it had been raised. Within a very few years after Sennacherib's retreat Hezekiah was succeeded by Manasseh, the infamous crimes of whose long reign sealed the doom of the kingdom of Judah (2 Kings xxiv. 3 f.; Jer. xv. 4).

Yet if the accomplishment of Isaiah's prophecies did not come in the form or at the time which he anticipated, they have not failed to find a true and wonderful fulfilment. The teaching of the Gospel has gone forth from Zion; the Incarnate Word of the Lord from Jerusalem. To Zion the nations turn as the centre and source of their highest hopes. Unto us a child is born. The shoot has come forth from the stock of Jesse, upon whom the Spirit of the Lord rests. While the kingdoms of this world have their day and perish, the kingdom of God endures. Slowly the purpose of the ages is being fulfilled, till in the end He will manifest Himself as the Eternal King, supremely exalted, supremely holy.

Note A.

Structure of the Book of Isaiah.

The Book of Isaiah falls into two main divisions. In the first of these, chaps. i–xxxix, the great enemy of Israel is Assyria: in the second, chaps. xl–lxvi, it is Babylon. It is

with the first of these divisions only that we are now concerned. All that can be offered here is a general sketch, which does not attempt to deal with minutiae or to solve many difficult problems. The dates of many sections cannot be determined with certainty, and much diversity of opinion prevails with regard to them.

Chaps. i–xxxix include four distinct books, some at least of which shew evident traces of composite origin. They are as follows :—

A.—Chaps. i–xii. This book has a Prologue (ch. i), and an Epilogue (ch. xii), and is divided by the account of Isaiah's call in ch. vi.

(1) Ch. i forms a general introduction, setting forth Jehovah's care for His people and their ingratitude to Him. It cannot be earlier than the time of Ahaz, for the land has suffered severely from invasion (*vv.* 7 ff.), and it may be as late as the invasion of Sennacherib; but on the whole it may best be regarded as a call to repentance at the end of the Syro-Ephraimite war.

(2) Chaps. ii–v consist of a continuous discourse (ii. 5–iv. 6), prefaced by a quotation from Micah, or some older prophet (ii. 2-4), and followed by the parable of the vineyard, with the series of woes appended to it (v). Reproof of the sins of Judah and warning of the imminence of judgement form the main subject of this division.

It must belong in the main to the time of Jotham, for Judah's prosperity and pride are still unbroken. But one or two allusions (iii. 4, 12) make it probable that the discourses were not committed to writing till after the accession of Ahaz; and the conclusion refers to the Syro-Ephraimite invasion, and the yet worse danger of an Assyrian invasion looming in the distance (v. 25-30).

(3) Ch. vi. Isaiah's call.

(4) Chaps. vii–x. 4 belong to the reign of Ahaz. Ch. vii refers to the time when Ahaz was threatened with invasion by Pekah and Rezin (B.C. 734). Ch. viii–ix. 7 is a little later, after the devastation of Northern Israel (ix. 1), but before the fall of Damascus in B.C. 732 (viii. 4).

Chaps. ix. 8–x. 4 are addressed to the Northern Kingdom, when it was beginning to recover from the disasters of the Assyrian invasion (*vv.* 9, 10). *Vv.* 18 ff. may refer to the conspiracy of Hoshea against Pekah. This address is therefore in its proper chronological order here ; and the description of the miserable reality of the present follows naturally upon the picture of the glorious future (ix. 1-7), by the law of contrast so often traceable in prophecy.

(5) Chaps. x. 5–xii open with the prediction that Assyria, though employed by Jehovah as His instrument, will be punished for its pride. Assyria's power will be destroyed, and a kingdom of righteousness established in Zion under the perfect King of David's line. The scattered Israelites will be restored ; and the thanksgiving song of the redeemed forms a fitting epilogue to the book.[1]

Several links seem to connect this section with the prophecies of the time of Ahaz. Ch. xi. 1 ff. is the sequel of ix. 1 ff. ; x. 20 describes the policy of Ahaz ; x. 21 refers to vii. 3, and xi. 13 to ix. 21 ; x. 12, 21 ff. speaks of severe judgements as still impending. But x. 9 ff. appears to refer to Sargon's conquest of Samaria in B.C. 722, Arpad in 720,

[1] The Isaianic authorship of xi. 10–xii. 6 is denied by Cheyne and others. But so far as xi. 10-16 is concerned, the political horizon is that of Isaiah's time (*vv.* 11, 16) ; *v.* 13 alludes to ix. 21 ; and the references to the Exodus are quite in Isaiah's manner (x. 26 ; cp. iv. 5 ; xxxi. 5). Then ch. xii is intimately connected with it. The parallel between the song of the redeemed and Exod. xv is unmistakable, so that it forms the natural sequel to xi. 15, 16. If it is not Isaiah's, it is a very remarkable lyrical compendium of his teaching.

Carchemish in 717.[1] The captivity of the Northern Kingdom has taken place (xi. 11 ff.). Hence in its present form this section cannot be earlier than the middle of Hezekiah's reign, and may be later. But the appropriateness of its position is obvious. The affirmation of the transitoriness of the Assyrian power and the permanence of the divine kingdom is needed as a counterpoise to the prediction that Assyria will be the scourge of Judah (vii. 17 ff.).

This collection of prophecies (i-xii) was probably circulated separately, as forming a symmetrical whole of convenient size.

B.—Chaps. xiii–xxvii.—A series of prophecies concerning the nations (except ch. xxii).

Some dates are given or can be fixed with tolerable certainty. Ch. xvii. 1-11 appears to be before the Syro-Ephraimite invasion; ch. xiv. 28 ff. is dated in the death-year of Ahaz;[2] ch. xx belongs to B.C. 711; chaps. xviii and xxii probably belong to the time of Sennacherib's invasion; ch. xix may be somewhat later.

The collection contains some non-Isaianic prophecies. Chaps. xv, xvi appear to be an older prophecy, reaffirmed with a supplement by Isaiah (xvi. 13 f.). Chaps. xiii. 1–xiv. 23 are ascribed to a prophet of the Exile on the ground that the historical situation is not that of Isaiah's time. Babylon not Assyria is the mistress of the world and the

[1] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 385.

[2] The oracle refers not to the death of Ahaz, but to that of Tiglath-Pileser, which happened about the same time (B.C. 727). Philistia had suffered from Tiglath-Pileser, who captured Gath, and the Philistines would naturally be triumphant at his death. But they are warned that his successors would prove even worse enemies. In point of fact, Sargon defeated Hanun king of Gaza at Raphia in 720, and captured Ashdod in 711, while Sennacherib took a tremendous vengeance on Ashkelon and Ekron in 701. See Schrader *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 168, 256.

oppressor of Israel. Babylon is soon (xiii. 22) to be destroyed, and Israel restored to its own land (xiv. 1 ff.). The great apocalypse of judgement and redemption which concludes the series (xxiv–xxvii) is also thought to bear marks of a later age ; and it seems not improbable that this book of prophecies concerning the nations was not completed until after the return from the Exile, when the concluding chapters were written by a disciple of Isaiah, deeply penetrated with his spirit, as a finale to the collection. See further in Lecture XVI.

C.—Chaps. xxviii–xxxv.—Chaps. xxviii–xxxiii contain a series of prophecies dealing with the relations of Judah to Assyria, and in particular with the scheme for throwing off the Assyrian yoke by an Egyptian alliance. Ch. xxviii opens before, but not long before, the fall of Samaria. Ch. xxxiii as plainly refers to Sennacherib's invasion in 701. The date of chaps. xxix–xxxi is disputed, but the view that they belong to the early years of Hezekiah gives by far the most intelligible explanation of their contents (p. 164 ff.). Chaps. xxviii–xxxi may have been republished with the addition of ch. xxxii, the connexion of which is loose, and ch. xxxiii, when events had proved the wisdom of the policy they advocate and verified the prophecies they contain.

Chaps. xxxiv, xxxv appear to be a supplement to this collection, added towards the close of the Exile, predicting the judgement of the nations and the restoration of Israel. They stand to this section in a relation analogous to that of chaps. xxiv–xxvii to the preceding section.

D.—Chaps. xxxvi–xxxix.—A historical section, found also in 2 Kings xviii. 13–xx. 19, with some variations. 2 Kings xviii. 14-16 is not in Isaiah, and Isa. xxxviii. 9-20 is not in Kings. It can hardly in its present form be the work of Isaiah, for it brings the history down to B.C. 681 (xxxvii. 38) ; and the text is in a disturbed condition, *e.g. vv.* 21, 22

of ch. xxxviii are out of place. But it is a question whether it may not have been derived, mediately or immediately, from the chronicle of Hezekiah's reign which Isaiah wrote (2 Chron. xxxii. 32). It is appended here, as Jer. lii (= 2 Kings xxiv. 18 ff., xxv) is appended to the Book of Jeremiah.

Divisions A, B, C were probably in circulation as separate books before they were combined, supplemented by D, and finally united in the same great volume with the Book of Consolation (xl–lxvi).

LECTURE VII

MICAH

He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.—MICAH vi. 8.

I

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with Isaiah of Jerusalem flourished Micah the Morashtite. The two prophets present a remarkable contrast in their origin, their training, their sphere of work. They are a striking example of the variety of the instruments which God chooses for communicating His message and accomplishing His purposes. But, remarkable as are the differences between them, the unity of their aims and teaching is no less remarkable. It bears witness to the identity of the source from which their inspiration was derived.

Contrast between Micah and Isaiah.

Isaiah, if not actually connected, as some have thought, with the royal family, evidently belonged to the upper classes. He was the counsellor and friend of kings, intimate with priests and nobles,

well acquainted with the various parties of statesmen in Judah. He was a native of Jerusalem; his home was in the city; he was in close touch with the national life which centred there.

Micah was a simple countryman, born of obscure parentage, in an otherwise unknown village. His father's name is not mentioned. He is only distinguished as the Morashtite, or native of Moresheth, probably the same as Moresheth-gath (i. 14), a village in the lowlands of Judah,[1] some twenty miles south-west of Jerusalem. Jerome tells us that in his day it still existed as an insignificant village near Eleutheropolis. Micah, as his prophecy shews, was in closest touch and sympathy with the class of yeomen whose wrongs he so graphically describes (ii. 1 ff.), and to which, in all probability, like Amos, he belonged. His love for his country home and its surroundings is strikingly indicated in his description of the impending judgement (i. 10 ff.). He watches the enemy sweeping through the lowland, and seizing one village after another. Each familiar name seems to contain an omen of destruction, or a call to mourning, or a cruel irony of contrast.

To the countryman the sins of the nation seemed to be concentrated in its capitals (i. 5; cp. vi. 9).

[1] The *Shephēlah*, or 'lowland' of Judah, was the region of low hills between the maritime plain of Philistia and the central highlands of Judah. It was the debatable ground between Israel and the Philistines. For a graphic description of the district see G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, ch. x.

Samaria and Jerusalem are marked out for inevitable destruction. Micah was no politician like Isaiah. He nowhere alludes to the appeal to Assyria for help which Isaiah stigmatised as the climax of worldly faithlessness ; or to the intrigues for alliance with Egypt, which Isaiah opposed as equally faithless and futile. He does not condemn that blind confidence in material forces which to Isaiah was one of the most significant indications of the national spirit, except incidentally and by implication, when he classes horses and chariots and fortresses along with witchcrafts and images and pillars and Asherim as things of which the land will be rid in the Messianic age (v. 10 ff.). He does not, like Isaiah, stand on his prophetic watch-tower and survey the nations around, and assign to each its destiny, though he sees them sharing in the judgement and salvation of the future. His message is to Israel and Judah, and indeed in the main to his own country. It deals not with matters of state policy and foreign alliance, but with the not less vital questions of social morality and religious duty ; questions which Isaiah by no means ignored, but which Micah treats with a vigour and a vividness peculiarly his own ; and while he predicts the inevitableness of judgement for the guilty nation, he predicts the certainty of its restoration to fulfil the divine purpose, with an unhesitating confidence which bears witness to a mind penetrated by a constant conviction of the

faithfulness of Jehovah to His covenant and His promises.

With all the difference between them in origin, in education, in environment, in point of view and range of survey, Micah and Isaiah are in fundamental agreement in their admonitions and instructions for the present, and in their hopes for the future. Yet in this fundamental agreement the simple countryman is charged with a distinctive message, and alike in his representation of the character and requirements of God, and in his predictions of the future development of the kingdom of God, he supplements his unrivalled contemporary.

II

Hezekiah's reformation.

From a notice of unique interest in the Book of Jeremiah (xxvi. 17 ff.) we learn that Hezekiah's reformation was due to the preaching of Micah. In the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign Jeremiah prophesied in the most public place and manner that unless the people repented, Temple and city would be destroyed. He was put on trial for his life; and in his defence *certain elders of the land* recalled *before all the assembly of the people* the precedent of Micah, and quoted the words of his prophecy against Jerusalem. *Micah the Morashtite was prophesying in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah; and he spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith Jehovah of hosts,*

Zion shall be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruin, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest. Did Hezekiah king of Judah and all Judah put him at all to death? Did he not fear Jehovah, and intreat the favour of Jehovah, and Jehovah repented Him of the evil which He had spoken against them? Whereas we are committing great evil against our own souls.

Micah's procedure was probably similar to that of Jeremiah. We may imagine him appearing in the Temple courts upon some public occasion of fast or festival, when the people from every part of Judah were assembled at Jerusalem, and there, in the presence of king, priests, and people, delivering his message. We can picture the amazement succeeded by fury with which venal judges and corrupt priests and hireling prophets listened to the words of one whom no doubt they branded as a fanatic enthusiast. *Is not Jehovah in the midst of us? no evil shall come upon us*, was the comfortable doctrine which they approved, appropriating the assurance of Isaiah's great watchword *Immanuel*, while they ignored the warnings which he connected with it. But better counsels prevailed. The threat indeed was absolute and unconditional; but God's threatenings, like His promises, are conditional; they may be withdrawn or suspended; and upon the repentance of Hezekiah and the people the threatened punishment was averted. Through the critical period of the Assyrian

invasions, when the destruction of Jerusalem seemed imminent, Isaiah could boldly proclaim that Jehovah's chosen city was inviolable. But Micah's prediction remained on record. Its fulfilment was only deferred.

Length of Micah's ministry.

The reformation of Hezekiah was the culminating point of Micah's ministry. But there is no reason for supposing that his ministry was limited to that occasion. The title of his book assigns the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah as the period of his activity, nor is there any sufficient ground for doubting its accuracy. The social evils which he condemns closely resemble those which Isaiah condemns in prophecies unquestionably delivered in the reign of Jotham, even if they were not committed to writing until after the accession of Ahaz (p. 155 ff.). These evils doubtless lasted on into the time of Ahaz, and were in some respects aggravated by the weak government of that prince, by the calamities of war, and by the burdensome taxation necessary in order to raise the Assyrian tribute. To this period may with much probability be assigned chaps. vi and vii. Ahaz abandoned the worship of Jehovah, and Jehovah's expostulation with His people implies that they were deserting Him (vi. 1 ff.). Ahaz set the example of human sacrifice, by causing his son to pass through the fire (2 Kings xvi. 3); and the words which are put into the mouth of the people imply that the sacrifice of a firstborn son was regarded at the time as the highest form of religious devotion

(vi. 7). Ahaz *walked in the way of the kings of Israel* (2 Kings xvi. 3), and the indictment against Judah culminates in the charge that *the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels* (vi. 16). The reign of Ahaz, as may be gathered from the hints in the Book of Isaiah, was precisely such a time of anarchy and distress and dissolution of the bonds of society and of family ties as that which is described in ch. vii.[1]

But if the Book of Micah is the record of a prolonged ministry, what relation does it bear to his prophecy before Hezekiah? The analogy of Jeremiah's method of procedure is suggestive. Just as Jeremiah, by divine command, gathered up the substance of more than twenty years of oral teaching, and launched it, as a last desperate effort, against the unrepentant people of his day, so Micah, but with happier results, may have gathered up the substance of many years of work, in his harangues to Hezekiah and the people of Judah. The substance of his prophecy upon that occasion is probably preserved to us in chaps. i-v, interspersed with those promises of a happier future, which can hardly have formed part of his public call to repentance, yet doubtless had been spoken, or were afterwards spoken, in private, for the consolation of the faithful disciples who gathered round him.

[1] With ch. vii. 2 cp. Isa. i. 15 *b*, 21; with vii. 3 cp. Isa. i. 23; with vii. 4 cp. Isa. x. 3; with vii. 5, 6 cp. Isa. iii. 5.

III

His message of judgement.

Micah's message is primarily a message of judgement. *Jehovah cometh forth out of His place* amid awful convulsions of nature, which express the terror of His advent. It is the transgression of Jacob and the sins of the house of Israel which have called Him forth. Samaria and Jerusalem are as it were the impersonation of the nation's guilt (i. 5; iii. 12). On them the punishment must fall. Samaria must be utterly destroyed. With wild shrieks and piteous lamentations he bewails its fall. But the calamity does not stop there. It sweeps onward to the very gate of Jerusalem. *Tell it not in Gath,* he exclaims, quoting the ancient proverb, *weep not in Acco.*[1] Let not our enemies hear of it lest they mock us; shew no signs of grief before them lest they insult us in our misfortune. He watches the invading army sweeping along the Lowland; and the familiar names of the villages in the neighbourhood of his home each yield an omen of calamity. At Beth-le-aphrah, *the house of dust,* he must wallow in the dust as a mourner. Shaphir, *the fair,* is a name of bitter irony for a village

[1] This almost certain emendation (supported by the LXX) restores the parallelism. Acco was a town from which the Canaanites were not driven out (Judges i. 31), and it is chosen along with Gath, as a representative of places which would rejoice at Israel's disaster, for the sake of the paronomasia which the name affords with the word for *weep.*

whose inhabitants must pass away into captivity in nakedness and shame. Zaanan and Beth-ezel belie their names when they do not sally out to repel the foe or help their neighbours. Maroth is doomed to verify its name by the *bitterness* of disappointed hopes. Lachish will have sore need of the swift steeds (*rechesh*) which its name resembles. Moresheth-gath suggests the idea of a daughter whose mother must give her up with parting presents to a husband. Achzib proves but "a summer-dried fountain" (*achzab*) to those who rely upon it. Mareshah (*possession*) must expect a new possessor. Israel's nobles will flee for refuge, like David, to the caves of Adullam. Judah must mourn for the children in whom she delighted, for they are carried away into captivity.

The causes of the judgement.

The prediction of impending judgement is followed by an exposition of its causes. It takes the form of a stern denunciation of the offenders whose sins call for this judgement. It is offences against the fundamental laws of social morality, breaches of the elementary principles of justice and mercy, which chiefly provoke Jehovah's wrath. The idolatries of Samaria and Jerusalem[1] are not condoned (i. 5, 7). A prominent feature in the Messianic age to which

[1] It is probable that in i. 5 we should follow the LXX, Syr., and Targ. in reading (as the parallelism seems to require), *what is the sin of Judah? is it not Jerusalem?* for *what are the high places of Judah? are they not Jerusalem?* But the idolatries of Judah are clearly condemned by implication in v. 10 ff.

Micah looks forward will be the abolition of witchcraft and soothsaying, the destruction of graven images and pillars and Ashērim out of the land (v. 10 ff.). But these are not the sins upon which he dwells in detail. It is the social sins of his time which he attacks with the passionate emphasis of one who has seen, if not felt, the scourge of the crimes he denounces, and with the lofty authority of one who is *full of power by the spirit of Jehovah, and of judgement, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin* (iii. 8). For these he sees no remedy but judgement, swift and sharp.

Principally social sins.

Foremost among these evils was the formation of great estates by the wealthy nobles. Isaiah had in general terms pronounced *Woe to them that join house to house, that annex field to field, till there be no room, and ye be left to dwell alone in the midst of the land* (v. 8). But Micah shews us the process in actual operation. We feel that it is no fancy picture, but a description of what he had seen going on in his own neighbourhood. *Woe to them that devise iniquity and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away: and they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage* (ii. 1, 2). We see the unscrupulous magnate scheming how he may get the poor but honest owner of a few acres into his power, and dispossess him of

his ancestral land and home. Naboth's vineyard was no doubt a typical case. The judges are quite ready to do a friendly turn for a powerful neighbour. *They set both hands to evil to do it thoroughly. The prince asketh, and the judge giveth judgement for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth the mischief of his soul, and they weave it together* (vii. 3). Little do they care about the consequences of their heartless evictions. What does it matter to them if the women of Jehovah's people are cast out from their pleasant homes, or young children deprived of their birthright in the land of promise, and left to wander forlorn in heathen countries? (ii. 9).

Exacting creditors do the like on a smaller scale. Look at yonder man tearing the cloak from the shoulders of a fellow-villager in pledge for some debt, as ruthlessly as a marauding enemy might do in time of war (ii. 8).[1]

The governors and the judges who ought to have been the shepherds of Jehovah's flock, fleece and devour the sheep which they were set to guard. They *pluck their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; they eat the flesh of My people;*

[1] It is certain that the Massoretic text of this verse is corrupt. *My people* must mean, as in ii. 9 and iii. 3, the oppressed poor. The ingenious corrections of Roorda and Robertson Smith (*Prophets of Israel*, ed. 2, p. 429) must be adopted, which, however, I venture to translate somewhat differently thus: *But ye are become an enemy unto My people: a man riseth up against him that is at peace with him* (cp. Ps. vii. 4): *ye strip off the cloak from them that pass by securely averse from war.*

and they flay their skin from off them, and break their bones; yea, they chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron (iii. 2, 3).

The people were crushed by oppressive taxation as well as by private extortions. They were doubtless often forced to borrow money to pay the taxes, and when unable to pay the interest, lost their lands by foreclosure.[1] Uzziah and Jotham were great builders; Ahaz had to pay a heavy tribute to Assyria, besides repairing his losses by war. As Micah gazed upon the modern improvements in Jerusalem, the strong fortifications and the stately palaces upon which no doubt the nobles congratulated themselves, it seemed to him as though they were constructed of the lives of men, and cemented with human blood. *They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity* (iii. 10).

In the darkest period of the prophet's ministry an appalling state of social corruption prevailed. It was not merely that the strong oppressed the weak. Every man's hand was against his neighbour. The dictates of natural piety were ignored. The most sacred relations of life were violated. No one could be trusted. *Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a familiar friend: keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom. For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in*

[1] Cp. Neh. v. 4, 5.

law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house (vii. 5, 6).

The judgement.

Upon this guilty nation judgement must fall. Those who had forcibly dispossessed others must themselves in turn be dispossessed by force. Those who had banished their fellow-countrymen from their rightful inheritance must see their ill-gotten estates partitioned by the conqueror. The splendid buildings of Jerusalem, which to the prophet's eye were so many monuments of oppression, must be levelled to the ground. The Temple in which they trusted must become an overgrown ruin. The people must be scattered as exiles in a foreign land. The land which had been promised them as a rest and an inheritance could be no resting-place to those who so misused it. They must be driven out, even as the Canaanites were driven out before them, because they have polluted the land, till it can bear them no longer.[1] *Up and begone! for this is not your rest: because of uncleanness shall ye be destroyed,*[2] *even with grievous destruction* (ii. 10).

IV

Prophecies of restoration.

But beyond this time of distress, dispersion, and humiliation, dawns the sure hope of restoration, reunion, and glorification. Israel must be scattered;

[1] With ii. 10 cp. Deut. xii. 9, etc.; Lev. xviii. 25.

[2] So the LXX. The variation may be one of vowel points only; lit. *shalt thou be destroyed.*

but Jehovah will once more gather His flock; and though, as Isaiah had prophesied, it is only a remnant that will return, it will represent the whole nation. Led by their king, they will march forth from the prison of exile; yea, Jehovah Himself will go before them as at the Exodus (Exod. xiii. 21). In few but graphic words the prophet describes that triumphal progress. *The breaker is gone up before them: they have broken forth and passed on to the gate, and are gone out thereat: and their king is passed on before them, and Jehovah at the head of them* (ii. 13).[1]

The ideal of the theocracy will be realised. *Jehovah shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth even for ever* (iv. 7). A prince of the house of David will rule over a reunited Israel as His appointed representative. He springs from Bethlehem, the ancient home of David, not from Jerusalem, the seat of his kingdom; for the kingdom has passed away, and the family of David has returned to its

[1] This passage is certainly not (1) a threat that Israel will be driven to take refuge in fortresses, and to flee before their enemies; nor (2) a specimen of the false prophets' teaching, for it presupposes the disasters which they denied would happen; but (3) a promise of restoration, which is intended as an answer to those who complain that Jehovah's prophet has no message but of judgement (ii. 6, 7), and in which Jehovah's care for His flock forms a contrast to the description of the false shepherds which follows in chap. iii. 1 ff. See Note A, pp. 229 ff. *The breaker* may be used in a collective sense for the advance guard of the army which clears a way for the passage of the main body. If it denotes an individual leader, he is distinguished from the Messianic king. See Driver in *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. v, pp. 263 ff.

primitive obscurity in one of the most insignificant villages of Judah. Yet he it is for whom the divine purpose has been preparing, and to whom the word of prophecy has been pointing, from ancient times. He shall be Peace; the pledge and giver of security. He—such is the limitation of Micah's language, foreshortening the course of events, and speaking in terms adapted to the nation's present need—will gather round him an abundance of able leaders to repel the Assyrian invader, nay, to carry the war back into the enemy's country.[1]

To the nations which submit Zion will be a beneficent quickening power, *as dew from Jehovah, as showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men* (v. 7). For Zion will be the teacher of the nations, and the centre of a world-wide worship. *From Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.* Zion's God will arbitrate between the nations, and establish universal peace (iv. 1 ff.).

But to those who resist Zion will be *as a lion among the beasts of the forest.* When the nations gather for one final effort to destroy the city of God, Zion will be triumphantly victorious. *They know not the thoughts of Jehovah, neither understand they His counsel: for He hath gathered them as the sheaves to the threshing floor. Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thine horn iron,*

[1] See Note B, p. 235.

and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many peoples: and thou shalt devote their gain unto Jehovah, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth (iv. 12, 13). Divine vengeance will be executed upon the nations which will not hearken. The kingdom of God will be established in peace and righteousness.[1]

Perhaps we do wrong to attempt to range the prophecies of Micah in an order of succession. Different visions of the future present themselves to his mental eye.[2] He does not accurately distinguish the order in which the events were to occur; still less does he indicate the intervals of time which were to separate them. His prophecies were never intended to be a chronological chart of the history of the future.

But the leading ideas of his prophecy are the regeneration of Israel through judgement; the establishment of the kingdom of Jehovah under the ideal king of David's line; the evangelisation of the nations through that kingdom. In the main they are the same as those of Isaiah. The prophet of the court and the prophet of the people are in fundamental agreement. Micah indeed predicts the destruction of Jerusalem, while Isaiah, except in one isolated

[1] The double aspect of Israel to the nations as a blessing and a terror (v. 7, 8) is parallel to and is illustrated by the fuller prophecies of iv. 1 ff., 11 ff.

[2] *Now* in iv. 9 denotes a different present from *now* in iv. 11: while v. 1 reverts to the time of iv. 9. See Note A, p. 233.

passage (xxxii. 13, 14), predicts its preservation. The judgement which was ultimately to fall was averted for the time. Micah also goes further than Isaiah, in predicting the birth of the Messiah in Bethlehem. The significance of that prophecy in its original context lies, as we have seen, in its suggestion of the circumstances under which the Messiah was to be born, rather than in the prediction of the precise place of His birth; but its literal fulfilment was one of those signs connected with the birth of Jesus which were unmistakably significant alike to the simple and to the learned.

In connexion with the circumstances of their own time, in part under the forms and limitations of that time, Micah and Isaiah expressed the sure purpose of God towards His people and the world. Those purposes have been accomplished and are still being accomplished, not with the rigid literalism demanded by a mechanical theory of prophecy, but with a true fulfilment, which witnesses to the progress of divine purpose which is gradually being revealed to the world.

The false prophets.

These predictions of a nobler age to come stood in a close and important relation to Micah's preaching to his contemporaries. They were a consolation to the faithful, and a rebuke to the careless. They were one of the weapons in his hand in the conflict which he had to wage with false prophets. For now for the first time we get a clear view of a popular

party of false prophets opposed to the true and faithful messengers of Jehovah. Isaiah refers to prophets who teach lies, to leaders who are misleaders, to prophets who *are swallowed up of wine and have gone astray through strong drink* (ix. 15, 16; xxviii. 7). But in Micah their character and their practices are depicted with more definiteness. They pandered to the sensual lusts of the people, and were welcomed by them accordingly (ii. 11). They demanded payment for their prophecies, and, provided that their clients rewarded them with proper liberality, they were always ready with a cry of *Peace!* while they unsparingly attacked those who refused to comply with their demands. These were the men who lulled the people into an easy security by the perversion of Isaiah's doctrine of Immanuel, reiterating as their watchword, *Is not Jehovah in the midst of us? no evil shall come upon us* (iii. 5, 11).[1] The essential difference between Micah and these men was the moral character of his mission. This was the proof of true inspiration. *I am full of power by the spirit of Jehovah, and of judgement, and of might, to declare*

[1] According to the R.V. ch. ii. 6, *Prophesy ye not, thus they prophesy*, refers to the attempt of the false prophets to silence the true prophets. But I am inclined to think that this verse is a dialogue between Micah and the nobles whom he is censuring. *Prophesy ye not*, say the nobles to Micah and his fellow-prophets. *They shall prophesy*, is his emphatic answer. At any rate, retort the nobles, *they shall not prophesy concerning these things*, reproving our conduct and predicting our exile. *Disgrace*, answers Micah, *shall not be averted*, your fate is certain (or perhaps, *rebukes shall not cease*, the prophets cannot be silenced). Cp. Isa. xxx. 10 f.

unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin (iii. 8).

But it was an indispensable part of his message, that while these false prophets were preaching their delusive message of peace, and taunting him with being a prophet of evil only, he should proclaim that Jehovah's purposes towards His people were good and not evil (ii. 7), and should promise the realisation of Israel's destiny, even if it could only be accomplished through judgement.

V

Popular and prophetic views of religion.

But to return to the consideration of Micah's moral and religious teaching. One of the most remarkable passages in the whole book is that in ch. vi,[1] in which the false popular view of Jehovah and His requirements is placed in sharp contrast with His real character and demands. Jehovah institutes a trial between Himself and His people. He pleads His own cause. It is assumed that mutual obligations existed between them. Has He imposed burdensome conditions, or failed to fulfil His obligations, that they have deserted Him?

Nay surely! He appeals to the testimony of history. He had redeemed them from the bondage of Egypt. He had given them leaders. He had confounded the malice of their enemies, and brought

[1] On the authorship of chaps. vi, vii see Note A, p. 233.

them safely across the Jordan.[1] In all His dealings with them He had demonstrated His righteousness, His faithful performance of His side of the covenant.

The voice of the people is heard in answer, inquiring how Jehovah may successfully be propitiated, and suggesting what they are ready to offer.

Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself down unto God on high? shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? will Jehovah accept thousands of rams, myriads of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? (vi. 6, 7).

The speaker evidently represents the popular idea of the essentials of religion.[2] He regards Jehovah as other nations regarded their gods, as a despot who requires to be propitiated by material offerings, and can be propitiated by them, provided they are sufficiently large and costly. He is ready to go all lengths. He will not be behind the Phoenician or the Canaanite. He will offer a sacrifice of his nearest and dearest. But as the prophet's answer shews, he has no conception of the moral requirements of Jehovah.

[1] Remember *from Shittim unto Gilgal* means 'remember all that happened from Shittim, the last station on the east of Jordan, to Gilgal, the first station on the west.'

[2] Bishop Butler (*Serm.* viii) takes *vv.* 6, 7 to be Balak's words, and *v.* 8 to be Balaam's answer. It would be scarcely worth while to mention this interpretation, which destroys the whole significance of the passage, had not Dean Stanley given it currency in his *Lectures on the Jewish Church* (Lect. viii, vol. i, p. 163).

In sharp contrast to the people's lavish offer is the prophet's simple answer, *He hath declared to thee, O man, what is good: and what doth Jehovah require of thee, save doing judgement, and loving mercy, and walking humbly with thy God?* (vi. 8).

Doing judgement: seeing that each and all have their just rights; the foundation of society, and yet the very thing of which there was an utter lack in Micah's time. The rulers whose duty it was to know judgement abhorred it and perverted all equity (iii. 1, 9). Sternly Jehovah challenges the people: *Are there yet treasures of wickedness in the house of the wicked, and the scant measure which is abominable?* and in reply the voice of the offender[1] is heard parleying with himself whether he may not "be pardoned and retain the offence":—*Can I be clean with wicked balances, and with a bag of deceitful weights?* (vi. 10, 11).

But justice is not the whole of man's duty to his neighbour. Mercy or lovingkindness is nobler than justice. But mercy must not be strained, and stinted, and grudging. Accordingly God's second demand is *loving mercy;* not merely to shew it, but to love it. No doubt there were not a few among the wealthy nobles of Micah's day who prided themselves on not being guilty of injustice. Yes!

[1] So the Hebrew text. But it is very doubtful whether we ought not to read, with the LXX, Targ., and Syr., *Shall a man be clean*, etc., or (cp. Vulg.) *Shall I count him clean*, etc., making *v.* 11 the continuation of God's speech in *v.* 10. For *clean* cp. Isa. i. 16.

perhaps they were entirely within their legal rights when they seized the land of some poor neighbour who through bad seasons and misfortune and pressure of heavy taxes had failed to pay his debts and fallen into their power. But was conduct like that brotherly? Nay, there was the higher duty of *loving mercy*. And how utterly destitute of the love of mercy was that state of society in which every man's hand was against his neighbour, and none could trust another (vii. 1-6).

And what does God require in respect of duty towards Himself? What but *walking humbly with thy God?* A life of fellowship with God implying an identity of will and purpose; but fellowship conditioned by that spirit of humility which must ever govern the intercourse of weak and sinful man with a perfect and infinite God. What a contrast to the temper of the proud self-satisfied magnates of Jerusalem, clouded in the conceit of their own power, infatuated by the supposed security of the privileges which they abused.

In this simple but comprehensive summary of man's duty to his neighbour and to God, Micah takes up and combines the teaching of his predecessors and his great contemporary. Amos had insisted upon the paramount necessity of civil justice: Hosea had proclaimed that it was not sacrifice but lovingkindness that God desired: one of the prominent doctrines of Isaiah was the majesty

of Jehovah, to which reverent humility on man's part is the fitting correlative.

Simple as are Jehovah's requirements, Micah has little expectation that the nation as a whole will conform to them. Their ingrained selfishness and inveterate corruption forbid the hope. Nothing but the sternest discipline of punishment can avail to reform that guilty people. There are few more touching utterances in the whole range of prophecy than the closing passage of the book. The prophet speaks in the name of the true Israel, the nucleus of faithful souls which existed in the midst of the unfaithful mass, the holy seed which was to preserve the life of Israel. Sorrowfully he confesses the widespread and deep-seated depravity which prevails (vii. 1-6); and then he turns to contemplate the future. In faith and patience he will watch and wait. With humble resignation he accepts the just punishment of the nation's sin, sure that the dawn must follow the darkness. *I will bear the indignation of Jehovah, because I have sinned against Him; until He plead my cause, and execute judgement for me: He will bring me forth to the light, I shall behold His righteousness.* Nor is that confidence misplaced. Addressing Zion Jehovah[1] proclaims the decree for its restoration. *A day for building thy fences! in that day shall the boundary be remote!*[2] The land

[1] It seems best to regard Jehovah as the speaker, as in *v.* 15; but it may be the prophet himself.

[2] *Fences*, not *walls;* the figure of the vineyard underlies the

will be large enough for all the exiles who crowd into it from the lands of their dispersion. But even across that bright vision of the future passes a cloud. Judgement must precede redemption. *The land shall be desolate because of them that dwell therein, for the fruit of their doings* (vii. 13).

Hope turns into prayer. *Feed Thy people with Thy rod, the flock of thine heritage . . . let them feed in Bashan and Gilead, as in the days of old.* And Jehovah makes answer that He will deliver them from exile as He did from Egypt. *As in the days of thy coming forth out of the land of Egypt will I shew unto him marvellous things.* Once more the nations will behold and tremble.[1] When they see the manifestation of Jehovah's power on behalf of His people, they will humbly pay Him homage.

Man's perversity may delay but it cannot frustrate God's purposes. He will yet find a way to pardon, and not only to pardon, but to remove, the iniquity of His people. The oath which He sware to the forefathers of the nation cannot be broken. *Who is a God like unto Thee,* concludes Micah, with a reminiscence of the Song of Moses, and an allusion to the meaning of his own name,[2] *forgiving iniquity*

expression, cp. Isa. v. 5; Ps. lxxx. 12; lxxxix. 40. In that day the boundaries of the land will be extended; cp. *a far-stretching land,* lit. *a land of far distances,* Isa. xxxiii. 17.

[1] Cp. Exod. xv. 14 ff.

[2] Micah = *Who is like Jehovah?* Cp. Exod. xv. 11; and for the following words, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

and passing over transgression for the remnant of His heritage? He retaineth not His anger for ever, because He delighteth in mercy. He will turn again and have compassion upon us; He will subdue our iniquities, as He subdued the Canaanites before us; *yea, Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea,* as Thou didst overwhelm the Egyptians in the Red Sea.[1] *Thou wilt shew Thy faithfulness to Jacob, and Thy mercy to Abraham, which Thou didst swear unto our fathers from the days of old.*[2]

Note A.

Contents and Integrity of the Book of Micah.

The Book of Micah falls into three divisions.

A.—Chaps. i, ii.

(1) Jehovah is about to appear to judge Israel for its sins (i. 2-5). Samaria will be utterly destroyed (6, 7); the wave of calamity will sweep onward to Jerusalem (8, 9). One town after another in the Lowland will be overwhelmed by it (10-16).

(2) Woe to the proud nobles of Judah, whose deeds of violence demand this punishment. They would fain silence true prophets, and listen to false prophets, but as they have driven their victims from their homes, so will they be driven out into exile themselves (ii. 1-11).

(3) Yet the scattered flock of Israel will one day be gathered, and go forth from captivity in a second Exodus (ii. 12, 13).

---

[1] See Joshua xviii. 1, etc.; Exod. xv. 5.

[2] Cp. Gen. xxii. 16 ff.; xxviii. 13 f.; Exod. xiii. 5, 11; xxxii. 13.

B.—Chaps. iii-v.

(1) Censure of the rulers, prophets, and priests, for abuse of their offices. They are the cause of Jerusalem's impending destruction (iii. 1-12).

(2) Yet in the latter days Jerusalem will be the centre of instruction for the world (iv. 1-5). The scattered flock will be gathered; the eternal reign of Jehovah inaugurated; the Davidic kingdom restored (6-8).

(3) In the immediate future humiliation and exile are in store for Zion (9, 10); yet ultimately she will be victorious over the nations which muster to destroy her (11-13).

(4) Israel must be reduced to extremity, and her ruler subjected to gross insult (v. 1); but from Bethlehem will come forth a king of David's house, to rule over a reunited nation, and repel the Assyrian invader (v. 2-6). To some Israel will be a source of blessing (7), to others a destructive foe (8, 9). Israel will be purified, and vengeance executed upon the obdurate nations (10-15).

C.—Chaps. vi, vii.

(1) From that ideal future the prophecy turns to the sad contrast of the present. The people are addressed. Jehovah is dramatically represented as commencing a suit with Israel. He defends His faithfulness to His side of the covenant, and contrasts His real demands with the popular idea of religion (vi. 1-8).

(2) The wilful disregard of these requirements calls for punishment (9-16).

(3) The prophet speaks in the name of the true Israel, lamenting the universal corruption (vii. 1-6), and expressing its determination humbly to bear the punishment; in perfect

confidence that Jehovah will one day vindicate His righteousness (7-10). In answer is heard the divine proclamation for Zion's restoration (11-13).

(4) The prophet prays for this restoration, and Jehovah promises to bring it about (14-17). He concludes with an expression of perfect trust in the pardoning mercy and unchanging faithfulness of Jehovah (18-20).

Each of the three main divisions begins with rebuke and threatening, introduced by an emphatic *Hear ye;* and each ends with promise and hope.

I have given this somewhat full analysis with the object of shewing that the book is not the disconnected collection of fragments or the patchwork of interpolations which it is sometimes represented as being. It must be remembered that in all probability it consists of discourses delivered on various occasions and under different circumstances. The transitions are no doubt more than usually abrupt. Connexions and contrasts of thought are not expressed. It is left to the reader's intelligence to supply them. But they are, I believe, to be discerned. The question for the student is not (as it is so often misleadingly put) whether the sequence of ideas is "what we should expect," but whether it admits of explanation. Now just as in the Hebrew language co-ordination is common where Western languages would use subordination, so in the prophetic books two conceptions or two descriptions are frequently compared or contrasted without any definite statement of the relation in which they stand to each other.

Let us apply this principle to Micah.

(1) Ch. ii. 12, 13 is said by some, who admit that it may be Micah's, to stand in no logical connexion with the context: by others it is set down as an exilic interpolation. The connexion is certainly loose, and the prophecy of restora-

tion presumes that Israel will go into exile. But so does the preceding admittedly genuine prophecy (*vv.* 3-5, 10); and nothing in *vv.* 12, 13 presumes that the exile is a present fact. Now, on the principle suggested above, is there anything unreasonable in the bare addition of a prediction of restoration to a prediction of exile? There is, however, a link of connexion. The true prophets were attacked for prophesying evil (*vv.* 6, 7). Micah will shew that he too can prophesy good as the ultimate purpose of Jehovah towards His people. Nor is a link of connexion with iii. 1 ff. wanting. The treatment of Jehovah's flock by their shepherds which is there described presents a striking contrast to His own care of them in the future which is promised in ii. 12, 13.[1]

(2) Again, chaps. iv, v are supposed by some critics to be a composite work. Stade (*Z.A.T.W.* i. 165 ff.) regards the whole as exilic or post-exilic, but thinks that iv. 1-4, iv. 11–v. 4, v. 7-15 form a continuous whole, into which iv. 5-10 and v. 5, 6 were inserted still later. Kuenen allows that part may be Micah's, but holds that at any rate iv. 6-8, 11-13, and the present form of v. 10-15, are due to an exilic or post-exilic hand. Two questions arise: (*a*) Do these passages contain ideas which are inconsistent with what we know of the prophets of the eighth century? and (*b*) Is the want of connexion such as to prove that the whole passage cannot be the work of the same author?

(*a*) With regard to iv. 6-8 the remarks already made on ii. 12, 13 will apply. It is presumed that the Exile will take place, but not that it is a present fact. That the assault of many nations upon Zion (iv. 11 ff.) is not a pre-exilic idea cannot be maintained. Isa. xxix. 1-8 is a sufficient parallel.

[1] It should be noticed how the conception of the people as a flock runs through the whole book. See ii. 12; iii. 1 ff.; iv. 6, 8; v. 4; vii. 14.

(*b*) The disjointed character of the passage is no sufficient argument against unity of authorship. It presents a series of pictures of the destiny of Zion, arranged by contrast or connexion of thought, not in chronological succession. Zion's exaltation (iv. 1-5) is the contrast to its destruction (iii. 12): that exaltation involves the gathering of the people (iv. 6-8) whose dispersion has been predicted (ii. 3 ff., 10). To that dispersion the prophet then reverts (iv. 9, 10); but again glancing forward into the distant future foresees the nations gathering against Zion to their own destruction (iv. 11-13).[1] Once more he reverts to the idea of the humiliation (v. 1) which will precede the advent of the Messianic king, for which he looks within the period of the Assyrian troubles (iv. 2-6). Then once more he looks forward into the future of redemption. Israel's double relation to the nations is parallel to what has preceded; v. 7 corresponds to iv. 1 ff.; v. 8, 9 to iv. 11-13. That the outlook should conclude with the purification of Israel and the judgement of the nations needs no explanation.

(3) The difference between chaps. vi, vii and chaps. i-v in style and character, and to a certain extent, in the circumstances presumed, is remarkable, and has led to the very general acceptance of Ewald's view, that these two chapters are the work of another prophet in the reign of Manasseh. No doubt this hypothesis is plausible; but that the difference of style is incompatible with unity of authorship is by no means certain. There is nothing in the contents of the passage which might not have been written by Micah himself, and the difference of environment may be accounted for

[1] *Now* in iv. 9 refers to a time different from *and now* in *v.* 11. The first is a present anterior to the Exile, the second subsequent to it. *Now* in v. 1 reverts to the present of iv. 9. That the Hebrew word for *now* may be so used of an assumed present is clear from iv. 7, where *from now* (A.V. *from henceforth*) refers to an assumed present in the time of the restoration.

if it was written either in the time of Ahaz, or in the reign of Manasseh, into which Micah may easily have survived. Some reasons for connecting it with the reign of Ahaz have been pointed out above (p. 210 f.). Chap. vi at any rate is a piece of public preaching, which is more likely to belong to the time of Ahaz than to that of Manasseh, when true prophets were silenced. The message *to the city* (vi. 9) is entirely in Micah's spirit (p. 206), and the allusion to his name (vii. 18) quite in the style of the author of ch. i.

More recent criticism assigns vii. 7-20 to the Exile, and affirms that there is a gap of a century between vii. 6 and vii. 7 ff. But in its dramatic style the passage has a strong bond of connexion with vi. 1–vii. 6 : it refers not to the Babylonian but to the Assyrian exile (vii. 12), and to the Assyrian ravages of the Northern Kingdom (vii. 14) : some conclusion is certainly needed to vi. 1–vii. 6, which can hardly have ended abruptly with *v.* 6. The remarks already made on ii. 12 f., iv. 6 ff. apply here. The captivity is presumed as an event that will happen, not described as a present fact. There seems to be nothing in the passage which might not be the work of a prophet who knew that the Exile must happen, and had before his eyes the first captivity of Northern Israel or possibly the destruction of that kingdom. The position of chaps. vi, vii at the end of the book is not decisive against a date in the reign of Ahaz ; for they form a separate work, and could be placed in no more suitable position.

I have treated this remarkable prophecy as part of the writings of Micah, and assigned it to the reign of Ahaz. At the same time I feel that the arguments in favour of a later date, under Manasseh, have considerable weight, and that the possibility that it proceeds from a different author must be allowed.

Note B.

A brief note is all that can be given upon some of many points of difficulty and interest in ch. v. 2-6. The English reader is liable to miss the connexion of v. 2 with iv. 8. The word rendered *ruler* is from the same root as that rendered *dominion*. This ruler will exercise the former rule. But what is meant by *whose goings forth are from ancient time, from the days of old?* *Goings forth* (or *comings forth*) is from the same root as *shall come forth* in the same verse, and must be explained accordingly. *From ancient time, from the days of old*, is illustrated by vii. 20, *days of ancient time*, and vii. 14, *days of old*. The words can hardly describe the eternal pre-existence of the Messianic king, or his manifestation from time to time in the course of history; for these ideas, though in the light of the fulfilment they may be seen to be included in the words, hardly come within the range of Old Testament prophecy. Rather they describe the coming forth of the Messianic king as included from ancient time in the divine purpose which is made known through the prophets. Cp. Isa. xxii. 11; xxxvii. 26.

She which travaileth (*v.* 3) is very commonly interpreted of the mother of the Messiah. But the comparison of ch. iv. 9, 10 makes it certain that the nation is this travailing woman. Jehovah will give up His people to their enemies until the nation has brought forth its new offspring of believers. Cp. Isa. lxvi. 7-9. The following clause (*v.* 3 *b*) seems to refer to the reunion of the divided nation in the return from exile, which is a constant feature in the prophetic outlook.

Vv. 5, 6 are parenthetical: *v.* 7 is the sequel of *v.* 4. Isaiah connects the coming of the Messiah with the restoration of the exiles (ch. xi); Micah more distinctly brings it into connexion with the needs of his own time. It is a striking instance of the limitations of prophecy.

THE PROPHETS OF THE CHALDEAN PERIOD

NAHUM—ZEPHANIAH—HABAKKUK—
JEREMIAH—EZEKIEL

Multa in Scripturis sanctis dicuntur iuxta opinionem illius temporis quo gesta referuntur et non iuxta quod rei veritas continebat.

Many things are described in Holy Scripture according to the opinion of the time at which they are recorded to have happened, and not in accordance with the inward truth of the fact.

S. Hieronymus.

LECTURE VIII

NAHUM

Jehovah is a jealous God and an avenger; Jehovah is an avenger and full of wrath; Jehovah is an avenger unto His adversaries, and He reserveth wrath for His enemies.—NAHUM i. 2.

I

Events during the last half-century of the kingdom of Judah.

THE last half-century of the kingdom of Judah was an age of change and convulsion throughout Western Asia. As the prophets surveyed the nations around, or contemplated the internal condition of the kingdom of Judah, they could not fail to see that the day of the Lord was at hand;—"one of those crises or turning-points in the history of the world at which God Himself interposes, revealing Himself as all that He is, and bringing to an end openly all the work which in more hidden ways He has been performing from the beginning."[1]

That eventful half-century saw the ruin of the great empire of Assyria, founded on violence and built up by bloodshed: it saw the rise in its place of

[1] A. B. Davidson in *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. vol. vii, p. 207.

the Chaldean empire, sweeping all before it in an irresistible tide of conquest. For a moment it seemed uncertain whether the seat of the supremacy of Western Asia would be upon the Nile or the Euphrates, but the decisive battle of Carchemish (B.C. 605) annihilated the hopes of Egypt, and gave Babylon the sovereignty of the nations for three-quarters of a century. That half-century saw the invasion of the Scythians, an event which was for the time as momentous and appalling to the ancient monarchies of Asia as the invasions of the Goths and Vandals were to the Roman empire. Bursting forth from behind their mountain barriers in the dark mysterious North, these savage hordes of barbarians poured down upon the ancient seats of luxury and civilisation, spreading terror as they moved. They penetrated to the borders of Egypt, where Psammetichus the king of Egypt met them, and only dissuaded them from advancing further by prayers and gifts. For twenty-eight years, so Herodotus tells us, they held sway in Western Asia, and turned everything upside down by their overbearing insolence and unrestrained plunderings.[1]

Such *distress of nations with perplexity . . men's hearts failing them for fear*, was the spectacle which the prophets of Judah beheld all around them. At

[1] Herodotus, i. 105, 106. Comp. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. ii, ch. xvii. The precise time is uncertain, but it falls within the period B.C. 640-607.

home the prospect was not more hopeful. For a brief time indeed it may have seemed that the reformation effected by King Josiah gave promise of new life for Judah; but deeper prophetic insight saw only too plainly that it was but superficial and temporary; that the great day of Jehovah was at hand for Judah, and that the deserved chastisement of her sins could no longer be deferred. It became more and more evident that God's purposes for His people could only be accomplished by means of the purifying fires of judgement.

Prophets of this period.

Four of the prophets whose writings have come down to us belong to this period, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah; and Ezekiel, though he occupies a somewhat different position, may be conveniently annexed to it. Nahum was probably the earliest. The possible limits for the date of his prophecy are from B.C. 660 to B.C. 607; but we shall not be far wrong in placing him about the middle of this period, soon after B.C. 640. Zephaniah prophesied in the reign of Josiah, probably in the earlier part of it, while the great reformation was in progress. Habakkuk may have delivered his message in the same reign, but there are good grounds for placing him in the early years of Josiah's son and (after the brief interval of the reign of Jehoahaz) successor Jehoiakim, about B.C. 610-607.

Jeremiah's long ministry extended over nearly half a century, from the thirteenth year of Josiah

(B.C. 627) till some years after the fall of Jerusalem. Thus Zephaniah and Habakkuk were his contemporaries, while Nahum may have flourished a few years earlier.

Their characteristics.

Each of these four prophets had a distinct message to deliver, and each delivered it in his own characteristic style. Nahum pronounced the doom of the oppressor, and interpreted the impending ruin of Nineveh as a revelation of the righteous vengeance of God.

Zephaniah, like Nahum, is a herald of judgement, but it is a universal judgement on the world, and, above all, on the chosen people of God. But he looks beyond the judgement, and shews that it is God's means for universal redemption, of His own people first, and then of the nations.

Habakkuk, perplexed with obstinate questionings, troubled with doubts as to the justice of the mysterious ways of divine Providence when he beholds violence succeeding violence in the cataclysm of the nations, boldly challenges God to defend His actions, and teaches the lessons of patience, constancy, and faith, which he was taught himself in answer to his challenge.

Jeremiah stands in the midst of a doomed and obdurate nation, the most tragic figure in the history of Israel, the martyr prophet, bearing the iniquity of his people. He proclaims with equal distinctness the imminent ruin of that guilty people, and the rise

out of that ruin of a kingdom of righteousness, and the establishment of a New Covenant.

Each prophet had his special gift for his particular work. Nahum bears the palm for poetic power. His short book is a Pindaric ode of triumph over the oppressor's fall, stern, vindictive if you will, but springing out of a deep satisfaction at this proof of the sovereignty of righteousness, this testimony to the moral government of Jehovah among the nations of the world.

Zephaniah is the orator of plain straightforward speech, severe and uncompromising in his denunciation of the sins of his countrymen.

Habakkuk has a philosophic mind, which would fain understand the enigma of the world. The dramatic form of his book is noteworthy, and its appeal to the imagination not less than the reason is characteristic and instructive.

Jeremiah is distinguished by his intense humanity. He attracts our sympathy by his unique life of suffering. A man of no great intellectual power (as we should say) as poet, orator, or philosopher ; naturally shy, retiring, and tender-hearted ; he is pre-eminent among those who *out of weakness were made strong*, a signal proof that the prophet's power was given to him from above, and was not merely the product of his own genius.

II

Date of Nahum's prophecy c. 640 B.C.

The *terminus a quo* for the prophecy of Nahum is the capture and destruction of No-amon, or Thebes, in Egypt. He quotes it as a warning to Nineveh of its impending fate. *Shalt thou fare better than No-amon, that was situate among the canals, that had the waters round about her; whose rampart was the sea* (*i.e.* the Nile), *and her wall the waters? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite: Put and the Libyans were her*[1] *help. Yet was she carried away; she went into captivity* (iii. 8 ff.).

There can be little doubt that the event referred to is the capture of Thebes by Assur-bani-pal, the son and successor of Esar-haddon, in his second Egyptian campaign, undertaken against Urdamani, or Rud-amon, the successor of Tirhakah. The expedition took place soon after Tirhakah's death in B.C. 664, and we may therefore fix B.C. 660 or thereabouts as the earliest possible date for Nahum's prophecy.

The *terminus ad quem* is the destruction of Nineveh, which took place, according to the best chronological authorities, about B.C. 607,[2] not, as used generally to

[1] So the LXX.

[2] The expedition of Pharaoh-Necoh against the king of Assyria (2 Kings xxiii. 29) will in this case have actually been undertaken against the last king of Nineveh. There will be no need to assume an error in the Book of Kings, or to explain king of Assyria as equivalent to king of Babylon, because Nabopolassar's empire had taken the place of Assyria.

be thought, in B.C. 625. The prophecy of Nahum must certainly have been composed before that event.

These limits may, however, be narrowed considerably. (1) The allusion to the destruction of Thebes is in favour of a date towards the beginning rather than the end of the period. Though no doubt the fall of such a powerful city would make a lasting impression, and the ruin of Thebes would naturally be selected for mention because it had been effected by the Assyrians themselves, the allusion would be more forcible if the event had occurred within living memory. (2) Judah is not only still under the Assyrian yoke, but apparently still smarting under the recollection of an Assyrian invasion (i. 12 *b*, 13, 15 *b*; ii. 2). Nineveh, though threatened by its enemies, is still in the full possession of its wealth and strength (i. 12; ii. 9). Now the last recorded Assyrian invasion of Judah was in the reign of Manasseh, who was carried captive to Babylon, but after a while was set at liberty and restored to his kingdom (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ff.).[1]

[1] The historical character of this narrative, which has been called in question, has received remarkable confirmation from the cuneiform inscriptions. They do not indeed prove its truth, but they shew that it is not incredible. (1) They supply evidence of the intervention of Assyria on the coast of the Mediterranean during this period. (2) They suggest an explanation of the statement, at first sight so perplexing, that Manasseh was taken to *Babylon*, not to Nineveh, which was the capital. After the suppression of Shamash-shum-ukin's revolt, Assur-bani-pal caused himself to be crowned king of Babylon, and probably resided there for a time. An inscription exists which records his reception of certain ambassadors

The name of Manasseh appears in a list of kings who were tributary to Esar-haddon, the successor of Sennacherib, but as there is no hint that he had then attempted to throw off the Assyrian yoke, it seems probable that the narrative in Chronicles refers to another occasion. The inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal record that the "West Country" or Phoenician and Palestinian states rose when his brother Shamash-shum-ukin revolted about the year B.C. 648. What can be more likely than that Manasseh took part in this rising, or at any rate incurred the suspicion of disloyalty, that an expedition was sent to inflict punishment, and that he was carried away into an ignominious though temporary captivity?[1] This hypothesis explains Nahum's allusions to a recent Assyrian invasion.

On the other hand, after the death of Assur-bani-pal (B.C. 626 ?), the power of Assyria rapidly declined. The loss of Babylon, where Nabopolassar established himself about B.C. 625, was a severe blow to its prestige. Josiah seems to have enjoyed a practical

at Babylon. (3) An exact parallel to the treatment of Manasseh is found in Assur-bani-pal's treatment of Necoh I, who was seized, bound hand and foot with iron bands and chains, and carried to Nineveh; yet, in spite of this ignominious treatment, subsequently restored to his throne. See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 366 ff., and comp. Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 114 ff.

[1] See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 367 ff. It may be noticed that colonies were planted in Samaria by Esar-haddon (Ezra iv. 2), and Assur-bani-pal, with whom *Osnappar* (Ezra iv. 10) is most probably to be identified.

independence, and about the middle of his reign (B.C. 622) we find him exercising an authority in Northern Palestine, which he would scarcely have done if the Assyrian government had still been vigorous (2 Kings xxiii. 15 ff.).

On these grounds it seems best to place the prophecy of Nahum soon after B.C. 640, when the memory of an Assyrian invasion of Judah was still fresh, and the power of Assyria was still unimpaired.[1] This date moreover best explains the situation of Nineveh which is implied in Nahum. He appears to know of a particular enemy who is threatening the city (ii. 1), though he does not mention its name. Now it was just about this time

[1] Kuenen places the prophecy somewhat later (c. 623), at the time when Nineveh was threatened by Cyaxares and the Medes. This date seems to me less consistent with the description of the power of Assyria as still unimpaired (i. 10, 12; iii. 1), for, after the death of Assur-bani-pal, if not before, it was rapidly falling into decay. The catastrophe is still in the future (iii. 11, 12); and it is natural to take *v.* 13 as referring to the future also, and describing the paralysis which will seize the Assyrians. *Vv.* 18, 19, which draw a vivid picture of the completed ruin of Nineveh, certainly refer to the future. The tenses are perfects of certainty.

The exhortation to Judah to keep her feasts and perform her vows (i. 15) might seem to indicate that Josiah's reformation had already begun. But after his captivity Manasseh had at any rate tolerated the worship of Jehovah, and the accession of Josiah would be sufficient to encourage anticipations of a happier time. Moreover if, as I hope to shew, Nahum was writing at a distance from Judah, little stress can be laid upon the words.

Prof. A. B. Davidson, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (1896), thinks that a later date still (c. 610-608), shortly before the destruction of Nineveh, is not beyond the range of possibility.

that the Median power, which had been consolidated by Deioces, became formidable to Assyria under Phraortes. Nahum saw that this power was destined to be the avenger of Israel's wrongs. Phraortes, indeed, lost his life in his attack upon Nineveh ; and the Scythian invasion, from which Medes and Assyrians both suffered, deferred the final catastrophe. It was reserved for Cyaxares, the successor of Phraortes, to combine with Nabopolassar, and to inflict the blow which Nahum had foreseen.

III

Place of writing.

Nahum is called *the Elkoshite*, or native of Elkosh. Unfortunately this designation gives us no certain information. No such place is mentioned in the Old Testament. In the *Lives of the Prophets*, ascribed to Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, Elkosh is located in the tribe of Simeon, near Eleutheropolis, which was situated about twelve miles north-east of Lachish.[1] Jerome states that in his day a ruined village in Galilee called *Helkesei* was pointed out to him as the birthplace of Nahum ; and a village on the left bank of the Tigris, near Mosul, bearing the name of *Alkush*, still contains a building which is called the tomb of Nahum. None of these rival traditions can be regarded as trustworthy. Much value can hardly be attached to the traditions of the

[1] See Nestle, in *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1879, pp. 136 ff.

end of the fourth century A.D.; while the tomb at Alkush is not ancient, and the tradition connecting it with Nahum cannot be traced beyond the sixteenth century.

It may however be inferred from the contents and character of his prophecy, that he was residing in Assyria at the time when he wrote it. He uses Assyrian words to designate Assyrian officers.[1] He was well acquainted with Nineveh. Its brick-built walls (iii. 14); the 'mantelet' used for protecting the soldiers upon them (ii. 5); the river-gates; the palace in the centre of the city which was the last retreat of its defenders (ii. 6); its temples and images (i. 14); its immense stores of wealth, the spoil of conquered nations, the prey which the lion had gathered in his den (ii. 9, 12); its vast population, the conflux of many nations (ii. 8; iii. 15); its crowds of merchants (iii. 16); its horses and chariots (ii. 13); its princes with their tiaras; its marshals and nobles and worthies in all their magnificence (iii. 17, 18),—these are depicted with a vividness which bespeaks not merely vigour of poetic imagination but the familiarity of an eye-witness. He must

[1] *Ṭaphṣar*, 'scribe' or 'marshal' (iii. 17), is probably the Assyrian *dupsarru*, 'tablet-writer'; *minzar* (A.V. 'crowned') may also be an Assyrian word. *Huzzab* (ii. 7) still remains unexplained. The suggestion of Mr. Paul Ruben (*Academy*, 7th March 1896) that in place of העלתה, 'she is carried away,' should be read העתלה = Assyr. *etellitu*, 'queen' or 'lady,' throws no light on this old enigma, though it would give another Assyrian word in Nahum.

have seen the magnificent palace of Assur-bani-pal, from the ruins of which many of our finest specimens of Assyrian art, and many of our most valuable cuneiform inscriptions, have been derived.

That he had seen Nineveh cannot of course be proved, but it is a natural inference from the forcibleness of his language; and further, he seems to address the city as if it was actually before him in all its cruel splendour when he was writing. This conclusion is confirmed by phenomena in his book which indicate that he was not writing in Judah. He has only a passing word for Judah. He seems to regard it ideally, as the kingdom of God, rather than actually, in its existing condition. There is no hint that the Assyrian oppression was a justly merited punishment for the sins of Judah, or that the city whose deliverance he welcomes was almost if not quite as guilty as the city whose doom he announces.[1] The absence of reproof and the idealisation of Judah are most satisfactorily accounted for by the hypothesis that he wrote at a distance from Palestine. Nor is there anything in the prophecy which militates against this view. He betrays no sign of a close acquaintance with Judah and Jerusalem. The references to Palestine (i. 4) are of a distant and merely literary character.

Whether he was a descendant of the exiles carried away from Northern Israel nearly a century before,

[1] Cp. Zeph. iii. 1 ff. with Nah. iii. 1.

or whether he was taken to Nineveh as a prisoner in some later invasion, perhaps that of Assur-bani-pal, there is nothing to indicate; but in either case, it is interesting to hear the voice of prophecy sounding across the desert from the banks of the Tigris, publishing the good tidings of the oppressor's fall and proclaiming peace, as it sounded nearly a century later from the banks of the Euphrates, to announce the glad tidings of the end of the still more cruel tyranny of Babylon.[1]

IV

The Book of Nahum.

The Book of Nahum is distinguished from the books which we have been hitherto considering by its unity, and its literary character. It deals with a single subject: it was evidently not based upon oral discourses, but composed to be at once committed to writing. Its theme is the impending ruin of the guilty city of Nineveh, regarded as the proof of Jehovah's moral government of the world.

The book opens with a solemn proclamation of Jehovah's twofold character, as a God of vengeance and a God of mercy. The rhythm of the original is stately as befits the subject:

Jehovah is a jealous God and an avenger;
Jehovah is an avenger and full of wrath;

[1] The name *Nahum*, which means *Comforter*, suggests the parallel with Isa. xl. 1; and i. 15 is quoted in Isa. lii. 7.

Jehovah is an avenger unto His adversaries;
And He reserveth wrath for His enemies.
Jehovah is slow to anger and great in power,
And He will in no wise acquit the guilty;
Jehovah hath His way in the whirlwind and in the storm,
And the clouds are the dust of His feet.

He brooks no rival. He will not condone iniquity. If He seem at times slack to interfere, it is the patience of omnipotence, and neither the helplessness of impotence nor the apathy of indifference. When once He wills to act, none can resist His power.

Before His indignation who can stand?
And who can rise up in the fierceness of His anger?
His fury is poured out like fire,
And the rocks are broken asunder by Him.

But in contrast to this appalling awfulness

Jehovah is good, a stronghold in the day of adversity;
And He knoweth them that take refuge in Him.
And with an overwhelming flood will He make a full end of
her place,
And will pursue His enemies into darkness.

That judgement is not the contrast to His goodness, but the proof of it. There is no need to mention the name of the arch-adversary, the embodiment of antagonism to Jehovah. The prophet's eye is riveted upon that guilty city. Her offence is insolent defiance of Jehovah, high-handed oppression not of His chosen people only, but of a multitude of nations, upon whom she has trampled with brutal inhumanity. Senna-

cherib with his insulting blasphemies was her typical representative, and to him the prophet's mind recurs. *From thee went forth one* (we can hardly doubt that it was he) *purposing evil against Jehovah, counselling wickedness.* Her ferocious violence and her heartless treachery are graphically described. *The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his caves with prey and his dens with ravin.* Then, dropping figure, he exclaims, *Woe to the blood-guilty city, all full of falsehood and outrage, where rapine ceaseth not.* Resuming metaphor, Nahum goes on to describe her as fascinating the nations by her insidious charms, and bewitching them by her cunning, until she gets them into her power, and reduces them to a hopeless slavery.

The prophet's indictment against Nineveh has received strange confirmation from the inscriptions and sculptures which have been brought to light in recent years, many of which may be seen in the British Museum. "The barbarities which followed the capture of a town would be almost incredible," writes Professor Sayce,[1] "were they not a subject of boast in the inscriptions which record them." The details of the savage cruelties of the Assyrians are too horrible for quotation. "How deeply seated was their thirst for blood and vengeance on an enemy is exemplified in a bas-relief which represents

[1] *Assyria; its Princes, Priests, and People*, p. 127.

Assur-bani-pal"—the king, be it remembered, who was Nahum's contemporary—"and his queen feasting in their garden while the head of a conquered Elamite king hangs from a tree above." [1] They are witnesses against themselves that they flagrantly violated every law and instinct of humanity in their lust of conquest and their passion for revenge.

And so Nineveh's doom was pronounced. With righteous indignation not unmingled with an almost contemptuous exultation Nahum chants her knell. He bids her strain every nerve for defence; repair her walls, make provision for the siege, set her sentinels (ii. 1; iii. 14). But all in vain. A short skirmish outside the walls, and the gates are forced; panic terror paralyses her defenders; the battle rages through her streets; the central citadel surrenders; her vast stores of wealth are plundered; she is stripped bare and naked and exposed to infamy (ii. 3 ff.; iii. 2 ff.). Naught remains of all her magnificence but emptiness and desolation and vacuity. So utterly indeed was she destroyed that "the very site of Nineveh remained for centuries unknown." [2] The fact is a striking comment on the prophet's words.

She falls unwept. *Who will bemoan her?* She pitied none, and there is none to pity her. Nay all rejoice, for all have been her victims. *All that hear*

[1] *Assyria; its Princes, Priests, and People*, p. 128.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 26.

the report of thee clap their hands over thee, for upon whom did not thy wickedness pass continually? (iii. 19).

Judah is released from the oppressor's yoke. The messengers speed to carry the good news, and the prophet bids her celebrate glad festivals of thanksgiving and pay her vows.[1]

Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! Keep thy feasts, O Judah, perform thy vows; for the wicked one shall no more pass through thee; he is utterly cut off (i. 15).

V

Nahum's teaching.

Nahum had a great principle, an eternal truth, to proclaim—the certain destruction of this world's kingdoms built on the foundation of force and fraud; the triumph of the kingdom of God reared on the foundation of truth and righteousness. But the limitation of view with which he proclaims this truth is very remarkable; and the fact that a prophet's view might be thus limited is an important principle to be borne in mind for the general interpretation of the Old Testament. For him Nineveh is the representative of worldly power in antagonism to Jehovah; Judah is the kingdom of Jehovah, representing Him on earth. Judah is viewed in the abstract in the light of her calling and destiny, in

[1] Cp. Ps. lxvi. 11-14.

a word, idealised; not in the concrete, as she actually was, failing hopelessly to fulfil that calling.

(1) There is not a single word of recognition that the long Assyrian oppression had been the punishment of Judah's sin, as we are constantly taught by other prophets. Nahum's prophecy is the sequel to those words of faith with which the book of Micah closes: *Jehovah will bring me forth to the light, I shall behold His righteousness. Then mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her; which said unto me, Where is Jehovah thy God?* (Mic. vii. 10); but Nahum betrays none of the deep consciousness of national guilt which distinguishes that most touching prophecy.

(2) Again, there is no hint that Judah stands in present need of penitence and reformation; yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign Nahum's prophecy to a time when the moral and religious condition of Judah was essentially different from that which is described in Zephaniah and Jeremiah.

(3) Once more, Nahum not only gives no hint that the yoke of Assyria would be succeeded by the yet heavier yoke of Babylon, but in express terms predicts a full deliverance and restoration for Judah. *Though I have afflicted thee, I will afflict thee no more. . . . The wicked one shall no more pass through thee. . . . For Jehovah restoreth the excellency of Jacob as the excellency of Israel* (i. 12, 15; ii. 2). Yet the fall of Nineveh was not the final end of

Judah's servitude; it was not the immediate precursor of her complete restoration, though Nahum seems to have expected that it would be. It was indeed one step in the evolution of God's purposes for His people; but the salvation of Zion was not to be yet.

Judah's impenitence and faithlessness postponed God's purpose. Nahum, writing far away from Judah (and in no other way can I understand his prophecy), could not realise the deeply ingrained sin of the people; and while he grasped and clearly enunciated the great principles of the divine government, he did not take into account the human obstacles to the fulfilment of God's purpose, or foresee the long hard course of discipline by which Judah must be led to the desired consummation.

LECTURE IX

ZEPHANIAH

Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord Jehovah! for the day of Jehovah is at hand.—ZEPHANIAH i. 7.

I

Contrast between Zephaniah and Nahum.

ZEPHANIAH and Nahum belonged to the same age. They prophesied in all probability within a few years of each other. But Zephaniah stands in pronounced contrast to Nahum. While Nahum announced the particular judgement of Nineveh alone, and saw in that judgement the prospect of Judah's liberation from a cruel tyranny, Zephaniah proclaimed the speedy approach of an universal judgement, and saw that its first and chief severity must fall upon Jerusalem. Nahum regards the judgement of Nineveh mainly as a just retribution for its crimes. Zephaniah regards the judgement of Judah and the nations not only or chiefly as the punishment due to them, but as the means by which the purification of Judah and the conversion of the nations are to be accomplished. Thus Zephaniah goes far beyond Nahum in breadth of view, and

in insight into the ultimate course of the divine purpose.

So far as the teaching of a prophet was conditioned by his environment, a ground for this difference may be found in the wholly dissimilar circumstances of the two prophets. We have seen reason to believe that Nahum prophesied in Assyria, and, remote from actual knowledge of the condition of Judah, could concentrate his thoughts upon the wrongs which she had suffered rather than upon the punishment which she deserved. Zephaniah evidently lived in Jerusalem.[1] He appears to have belonged to the royal family.[2] At any rate he had abundant opportunity for observing the crimes of the highest classes in the capital.

II

Date of Zephaniah's prophecy c. 630 B.C.

The title of the book tells us that the word of Jehovah came to Zephaniah in the days of Josiah. Internal evidence confirms this statement. The only question is whether he prophesied in the beginning of Josiah's reign, before the great reformation had done its work; or towards the close of it, when this last effort for amelioration had spent its

[1] Note the special topographical allusions to the Fish-gate, the Second Quarter or Lower City (*the Mishneh*), the Maktesh (lit. *mortar*), where the merchants lived (i. 10 f.).

[2] It is difficult to account for his genealogy being traced up to Hezekiah and no further, unless the king of that name is meant.

force, and the reaction which was to break out in the reign of Jehoiakim had already set in. A decisive answer may be given in favour of the first alternative. The idolatrous practices which Zephaniah condemns are precisely those which were abolished by Josiah. While it is possible that the first steps towards reformation were already being made, it seems scarcely conceivable that language like that of Zephaniah could have been used after the reformation had been carried out.[1] That reformation can hardly have been completed at one stroke; the Book of Chronicles describes it as a gradual process in successive stages; and we shall probably not be wrong if we suppose that Zephaniah prepared the way for Josiah's movement by his preaching, and was one of the prophets who supported him in its final achievement (2 Kings

[1] See ch. i. 4 ff., 8 ff., 12; iii. 1 ff. It has been urged (1) that the expression *remnant of Baal* (i. 4) implies that the reformation had already taken place; and (2) that the allusion to the king's sons (i. 8) implies that Josiah's sons were already responsible persons. (1) The reading of i. 4 is however doubtful. The LXX has *the names of Baal*, which may be right (cp. Hos. ii. 17); and if not, the expression may mean no more than 'every vestige of Baal worship.' At most it need imply no more than that the reformation had commenced, which it did, according to Chron., in the 12th year of Josiah. (2) Jehoiakim would have been 12, and Jehoahaz 10 years old in the 18th year of Josiah, and hardly of age to incur censure on their own account. But *the king's sons* may mean the royal family generally, 'the princes of the blood'; and if Josiah's sons are referred to, it is questionable whether the prophecy implies their personal responsibility. This doubtful phrase cannot outweigh the positive indications referred to in the text.

xxiii. 2). His ministry may therefore be dated between B.C. 630 and 622.

Its occasion the irruption of the Scythians.

It was just about this time that the marauding hordes of Scythians poured down over Western Asia (p. 240). It seems highly probable that their advance was the occasion of Zephaniah's prophecy. Rumours of this "scourge of God," which spread dismay and devastation as it went, must have reached Jerusalem. What is more likely than that the prophet should have seized the opportunity, as Joel seized the opportunity of the locust-plague, and have taught, as Joel did, that this dreaded visitation was in reality a manifestation of Jehovah's power, by which He was judging the nations, and summoning His people to repentance. It is plain that the idea of an invasion, and an invasion of an extraordinary and desolating character, underlies his description of the day of Jehovah.[1] The danger is close at hand. *The great day of Jehovah is near and coming very quickly* (i. 14). Now at this time Judah had little cause to fear from the Assyrians, while the Babylonians had not yet become formidable. But the Scythians correspond remarkably to the description. The mystery of their origin clothed them with just that vague terribleness which characterises Zephaniah's description. They swept down along the coast, and Philistia must have suffered heavily from them. Herodotus records that in their retreat they

[1] See i. 7, 13, 16-18; ii. 4.

plundered the temple of Aphrodite (*i.e.* Atargatis) at Ashkelon. They do not appear to have turned aside to Jerusalem. It was *hid in the day of Jehovah's anger*. Zephaniah's warnings succeeded in their object, and the judgement was averted for the time.

III

The condition of Judah.

In truth the condition of Jerusalem was such as to call for judgement. Alike in religion and in morals an appalling corruption prevailed. The cruel persecutions of the earlier part of Manasseh's reign had been suspended, and the worship of Jehovah was tolerated. But that was all. Incense was burned to Baal in Jerusalem. Idolatrous priests were regularly maintained. The worship of the sun, moon, and stars upon the roofs of their houses was the favourite practice of the people.

An easy syncretism deemed the recognition of Malcam as a deity compatible with a professed allegiance to Jehovah. Here there were apostates who had forsaken Jehovah; there there were indifferentists who did not trouble themselves to seek Him. Here there were men who hankered after foreign fashions in a way that proved them unfaithful to their national privileges; there there were practical atheists who denied that there was any providential government of the world (i. 4 ff., 8, 12).

Immorality went hand in hand with irreligion. Zephaniah's strictures upon Jerusalem are hardly less severe than those of Nahum upon Nineveh.

Woe to her that is rebellious and polluted, to the oppressing city! . . . Her princes in the midst of her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves; they leave nothing until the morrow. Her prophets are light and treacherous persons; her priests have profaned that which is holy, they have done violence to the law.[1] Self-complacent pride, shameless falsehood, flagrant iniquity, merciless extortion, are rife, and yet the guilty transgressors are unabashed. *The unjust knoweth no shame.*[2]

And therefore the 'decree' of judgement has been issued; the day of grace is passing as swiftly as the chaff swept away before the wind, and the day of the Lord's anger is about to come upon the guilty city (ii. 2).

IV

Zephaniah's breadth of view.

It is in his conception of the impending judgement that Zephaniah's remarkable breadth of view is to be noticed. The judgement which he predicts is an universal judgement. It will be as it were a second deluge, consuming all things from off

[1] iii. 1-4. Cp. the expansion of this passage in Ezek. xxii. 23 ff.

[2] iii. 5; ii. 1; iii. 11-13; i. 9. The latter passage appears to refer to the extortions practised by the retainers of great men, not to idolatrous customs.

the face of the ground.[1] The great day of Jehovah is close at hand. *That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of trumpet and alarm* (i. 15).[2]

The storm of judgement strikes Jerusalem first: it is infinitely searching (i. 12); there is no possibility of escape, no means of redemption for the men that have sinned against Jehovah (i. 18). Even the righteous can hardly be saved. *It may be ye shall be hid in the day of Jehovah's anger* is all the hope that is held out even to *the meek of the land which have wrought His judgement* (ii. 3).

From Jerusalem the storm sweeps westward to Philistia, eastward to Moab and Ammon; it reaches Ethiopia in the remotest south, Nineveh in the distant north. Nay, none are excepted. *My determination is to gather the nations, to assemble the kingdoms, that I may pour upon them Mine indignation, even all the fierceness of Mine anger; for with the fire of My jealousy shall all the earth be devoured* (iii. 8).

Depth of insight.

If Zephaniah is distinguished by breadth of view in his conception of the universality of the judge-

[1] With i. 2 f. cp. Gen. vi. 7; vii. 23.

[2] The opening words of this passage in the Vulgate, *Dies irae dies illa*, were adopted by Thomas of Celano as the opening words of that great hymn on the Last Judgement, which is one of the masterpieces of sacred Latin poetry. See Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 296.

ment in which Jerusalem must share, he is equally distinguished by profound insight into the purpose and the issue of this universal judgement for Israel and for the nations. Nahum views the judgement of Nineveh almost as an end in itself. Its grand object is the manifestation of Jehovah's righteous sovereignty in the punishment of the inhuman tyrant. He glances no doubt at the consequent liberation of Judah from the yoke of servitude, but only incidentally and cursorily. Zephaniah on the other hand views the judgement as the appointed means for the purification of Israel and the conversion of the nations.

In that day . . . I will take away out of the midst of thee thy proudly exulting ones, and thou shalt no more be haughty in My holy mountain. . . . The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth (iii. 11, 13).

Zion will rejoice in her King; and Jehovah will rejoice in His ransomed people. In words of passionate tenderness, which remind us of Hosea, the prophet declares:

In that day shall it be said to Jerusalem, Fear thou not; O Zion, let not thine hands be slack. Jehovah thy God is in the midst of thee, a Mighty One Who saveth; He will rejoice over thee with joy, He will rest in His love, He will joy over thee with singing (iii. 16, 17).

The restored people will be a witness to God's working and a wonder to the world. *At that time . . . will I make you a name and a praise among all the peoples of the earth* (iii. 20).

Issues of the judgement for the nations.

But it is not only Israel which will be redeemed through judgement. When Jehovah paralyses all the gods of the earth with the terribleness of His advent, *men shall worship Him, every one from his place, even all the coast-lands of the nations* (ii. 11).

The fire of God's jealousy refines while it consumes. It works for the nations the great change of *purified lips, that they may all call upon the name of Jehovah, to serve Him with one consent.* From remotest countries they come to worship in Zion. *From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia My suppliants, even the daughter of My dispersed, shall bring Mine offering* (iii. 9, 10).

Zephaniah has no prophecy of a personal Messiah. He does not foresee particularly *how* redemption is to be effected, but this he does foresee, that this judgement which is imminent in all its unparalleled terribleness will issue in salvation for Israel and the world.

Isaiah and Micah had prophesied of the day when all the nations would stream Zionwards to learn and to worship. Zephaniah repeats this hope; but he takes another firm step forward towards the universality of the Gospel, when he foretells that, instead of their old defeated and discredited gods, men *will*

worship Jehovah every one from his place (ii. 11). It is a prelude to the yet more definite declaration with which Malachi rebuked the bigotry of his contemporaries (i. 11), and it prepares the way for that memorable utterance of Him in whom all privileges of race and prerogatives of place were abolished: *The hour cometh, when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father* (John iv. 21).

The fulfilment.

The immediate judgement with which Zephaniah threatened Jerusalem was averted. But his prophecy began to be fulfilled in the disasters which befell neighbouring nations. It was fulfilled yet further in those great convulsions of the nations of the East which followed shortly. It was fulfilled for Judah in the captivity and the destruction of the guilty nation. For these were all steps of progress advancing towards the great end, elements contributing to the fulness of the times, preludes to the establishment of the universal divine kingdom.

In part Zephaniah's words still await fulfilment, and we do him no injustice if we say that he could not anticipate how distant their fulfilment would be. It was given to those ancient prophets to soar above the earth-born mists which becloud human vision, and to see God's purposes rising majestically against the clear firmament of His righteous sovereignty, like sunlit Alpine peaks against the azure sky; but it was not given them to see all at once how many

an obstacle must be surmounted, how many a disappointment endured, ere the longed-for goal could be attained.

These prophets of judgement still teach the great lesson that God is King; and that, in spite of all that men may think to the contrary, He is ever coming to judge the world. Force and violence are transitory; truth and righteousness abide. Assyria, Egypt, Babylon, Macedonia, Rome, where are they? But that little nation of Israel, bruised and battered in the clash and collision of mighty world empires, scattered and scourged for its sins, rose with a new life to be the Jewish Church, and from the Jewish Church there sprang that wonder of the principalities and powers in heavenly places,—the Christian Church; and in the Name of its Master it goes forth conquering and to conquer.

As we look back upon each successive great day of the Lord in past ages faith gathers strength, and we look forward without impatience and without wavering to that greatest day of all, when *the Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity . . . and the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.*

LECTURE X

HABAKKUK

O Lord, how long?—Habakkuk i. 2.

I

The entry of the Chaldeans on the stage of history found its herald in Habakkuk. Nahum, as we have seen, predicted the destruction of Nineveh. He saw in the ruin of that ruthless oppressor of the nations a signal exhibition of God's judgement upon pride and violence, and anticipated, it would seem, that the removal of the tyrant would be immediately succeeded by the deliverance and glorification of God's people. *The Chaldean period.*

Zephaniah, with a wider and clearer view of the course of God's purposes, foresaw that an universal judgement must precede deliverance, and that this judgement must begin at the house of God. The bright expectations kindled by Josiah's reformation were doomed to speedy disappointment. It soon became evident that the desire for better things had never taken real hold of the heart of the nation.

When Josiah fell in the fatal battle of Megiddo, the hopes of Judah perished with him. Passing over his eldest son Jehoiakim, the people made Jehoahaz king. After a reign of only three months, he was deposed by Pharaoh-Necoh, who was now for a brief space supreme over the countries from the Euphrates to the Nile. He placed Jehoiakim on the throne instead of Jehoahaz. Jehoiakim was a selfish, tyrannical, godless ruler. The nobles were only too ready to follow his example, and in a short time the old evils of Manasseh's reign broke out again. Meanwhile the new, mysterious, invincible power of the Chaldeans was gathering like a storm-cloud in the north. Rumours of their ferocious character, their insatiable lust for conquest, their irresistible prowess, reached Jerusalem. It was an age to try the faith of pious souls. Obstinate questionings could not fail to force themselves upon every thoughtful mind. At home, the reign of lawlessness! abroad, this power that knew no law but its own ambition and its own strength, threatening to overwhelm the earth! Judah no doubt deserved chastisement. But how could a righteous God employ for His instrument this self-deifying world power? Was brute force, not righteousness, after all the arbiter of human destiny?

In such a crisis Habakkuk was called to deliver his message; frankly to face the problem, and not indeed to solve it, but to shew men how they might

wait in faith for its ultimate solution. His message is a theodicy; its aim is to justify the ways of God to man; but in providence as in nature it is true that *His judgements are unsearchable, and His ways past tracing out;* and oftentimes the only answer that He can return to man's doubts is to point to what He has revealed Himself to be, and bid man trust that He is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

II

Date of Habakkuk.

Internal evidence makes it tolerably certain that Habakkuk wrote in the reign of Jehoiakim (B.C. 609-597). The Chaldeans were already in full career of conquest. Their terrible reputation had reached Jerusalem (i. 5 ff.). Some years must therefore have elapsed since Nabopolassar founded the Chaldean empire at Babylon (B.C. 625). But it seems impossible to suppose that the gloomy picture drawn by Habakkuk (i. 2-4) can represent the condition of Judah during the reign of Josiah. It points decidedly to the reign of Jehoiakim, whose selfish luxury and oppressive exactions are sharply contrasted by Jeremiah with his father's upright conduct and just administration (Jer. xxii. 13-17).

It is however less easy to decide whether the prophecy was written in the earlier or in the later part of Jehoiakim's reign. It is urged on the one hand that the Chaldeans must already have invaded

Judah. The prophet appears to have their overbearing violence actually before his eyes. The wicked is swallowing up the righteous (i. 13). According to this view, Habakkuk must have written after Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion, which took place about B.C. 601.[1] On the other hand the language in which the rise of the Chaldean power is described appears to imply that it is not yet firmly established. It still seems incredible to the mass of the people that this power which has so suddenly sprung up should be destined to prove Jehovah's instrument of judgement. *I work a work in your days, which ye will not believe though it be told you* (i. 5). But after the defeat of Necoh at Carchemish (B.C. 605) the supremacy of the Chaldeans was assured. It must have been obvious that there was no barrier to stay their advance. Nor is it certain that Habakkuk speaks of the Chaldeans as having already invaded Judah. The language in which their conquests is described is still quite general. It is the nations which are suffering. It is not clear that Judah is represented as being already a victim. On the whole the balance of probability appears to be slightly in favour of the earlier date, before the battle of Carchemish; but the interpretation of the prophecy is not materially affected, whichever date is adopted. Habakkuk's commission is not to predict the rise

[1] In this case *v.* 5 would have to be rendered, *I am working a work in your days, which ye would not believe, if it were told you.*

of the Chaldean power, but to reconcile their employment as an instrument of judgement with the justice of God, and to foretell their ultimate destruction.

III

Habakkuk a writer.

Habakkuk was not a preacher like Jeremiah and Zephaniah. His prophecy shews no indications of having been delivered orally before it was committed to writing. He does not bear a message of warning to his guilty countrymen in the hope that even at the eleventh hour they might amend their ways and avert the impending punishment. It is possible indeed that, like Isaiah, he may have inscribed the oracle of consolation on a tablet, and exposed it in public, and explained its enigmatic utterance to any one who cared to inquire what it meant (ii. 2 ff.). But as a whole his book is the fruit of religious reflection; it exhibits the communings and questionings of his soul—representative no doubt of many other pious spirits of the time—with God; and records the answers which the Spirit of God taught him for his own sake and for the sake of tried souls in every age. These communings and questionings, these wrestlings of his spirit with God, were doubtless spread over some considerable time. It is not to be supposed that light was given at once. The book seems rather to be the result of a prolonged mental struggle. But it is—as I must still believe in spite

of some recent theories as to its character—an artistic and connected whole. In form it is dramatic, though Ewald's suggestion that it was intended for actual performance is destitute of all probability.

The book. The book opens with a dialogue between the prophet and God, in which God is boldly but reverently challenged to defend His action in the government of the world (ch. i). The answer which the prophet receives, with the command to inscribe it upon tablets in legible characters which all may read, is the assertion of the principles upon which death and life depend in nations and individuals. This naturally introduces a detailed denunciation of the Chaldeans for their career of violence and injustice (ch. ii). Their victims are represented as rising up to denounce them, and their crime begets its own punishment. The last woe is pronounced on the senseless stupidity of idol-worship; and in magnificent contrast to this folly is pictured the Advent of the living God for the destruction of the wicked and the salvation of His people. It is a poetic appeal to the religious imagination. The splendour of the thought convinces and overwhelms the prophet's heart; a holy fear possesses him in the presence of this all-sovereign God; he feels that however gloomy and disastrous may be the future through which the nation must pass, he can joyously trust in the God of his salvation, Who will in the end surely fulfil His purposes for His people (ch. iii).

I have taken this rapid survey of the whole book, because it is important to get a general view of the relation of its parts and of the progress of thought in it, which are so striking as entirely to outweigh arguments against the unity of the book derived from some difficulties of detail. We may now proceed to examine more fully the way in which the various thoughts are worked out.

The book commences with a bold expostulation with Jehovah. Habakkuk contemplates with dismay the reign of lawlessness around him in Judah. Long and earnestly has he pleaded with God to interpose, but no answer has come: evil rears its head unchecked and unremedied: iniquity, violence, oppression, plundering, strife, contention, universal paralysis of law and order: these are the sights he is compelled to witness day by day around him in Judah. Will Jehovah never interfere? *Ch. i. 2-4.*

The answer comes from the mouth of Jehovah Himself. Even now He is raising up the Chaldeans to be the executioners of His judgement. Unparalleled and wholly incredible is the sudden uprising of this mighty nation. It is fierce and restless; it marches through the length and breadth of the earth in an unchecked career of conquest. It acknowledges no higher law, no superior power; it mocks at the puny efforts made to resist its advance; the strongest fortresses are no bar to its progress. Yet—and here is the one ray of comfort—though it deifies its own *Ch. i. 5-11.*

strength, it will pass away like the hurricane which it resembles, and perish self-condemned and be no more seen.

Ch. i. 12–17. Such is the answer to the prophet's complaint. But it only raises a fresh perplexity in his mind. Granted that Israel deserves to be punished; granted that the relation of the eternal God to His people as the Holy One of Israel is the guarantee that chastisement will not result in annihilation. How, he would fain know, can the pure and holy God employ such instruments as these lawless upstarts? How can He surrender not Israel only but the nations of the world to the mercy of a tyrant who acknowledges no law but his own will and worships no god but his own might? Is this Jehovah's government of the world? The judgement seems to be only the triumph of violence on a larger scale. The correction of one evil appears to involve the permission of a still greater evil.

O Jehovah, for judgement hast Thou appointed him! yea, O Rock, for correction hast Thou established him! O Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness, wherefore lookest Thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest Thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up him that is more righteous than he? yea, Thou hast made men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things that have no ruler over them! . . . Shall he therefore continue to slay the nations unsparingly? (i. 12 ff.).

Thus boldly yet reverently the prophet summons God to explain Himself; and then in earnest expectation he prepares to watch for an answer, and to defend his outspoken challenge.

The answer comes, in a brief, enigmatic, pregnant oracle, which he is to engrave upon a tablet in characters that may easily be read, as a testimony to future generations; for its fulfilment will be long delayed, albeit come at last it assuredly will.

Behold, his soul is puffed up, it is not upright within him;
But the righteous shall live in his faithfulness (ii. 4).[1]

St. Paul has adopted the second clause as one of the watchwords of his theology. He has given it "a spiritual meaning and a general application." But our present aim is to ascertain its primary and original meaning; and we must be on our guard lest the New Testament development of the thought which is here presented to us in germ should lead us astray as to the meaning which it bears in the original context.

The first clause describes the Chaldean. His whole nature is inflated, presumptuous, insincere. It is essentially false and unreal; and therefore—so we must complete the sense by inference from the second

[1] This verse is the whole of the oracle which is to be engraved upon a tablet, and perhaps (cp. Isa. viii. 1; xxx. 8) exposed in public to catch the attention of the passer-by. *Vv.* 2, 3 give the reason for the command; *vv.* 5 ff. are the expansion of *v.* 4 *a*.

clause—it has no principle of permanence; he is doomed to perish.

But the righteous—Israel according to its calling, realised in the character of those godly men who even in the darkest days represented what Israel was designed to be—shall live in his faithfulness. *We shall not die* was Habakkuk's confident assurance, based upon the character of Jehovah; and this oracle is the divine response to that confidence. For the true Israel his integrity, his trustworthiness, his constancy, the correspondence of his nature to God's eternal law, constitute a principle of permanence: he cannot perish but is destined to live, through all the cataclysms and convulsions which are to shake the world.

This is the sense of the words as they are used by Habakkuk. We must not anticipate the progress of revelation by supposing that *faith* in the full New Testament sense of the word is here revealed as the means of life. The Hebrew language indeed has no word which fully expresses the idea of faith as an active principle. Yet since integrity of character and constancy in trouble could only for the Israelite spring from reliance on Jehovah, the thought of faith as an active principle is not far distant. St. Paul takes the message, enlarges it, interprets it, and shews its *fulfilment* in the light of the Gospel revelation.[1]

[1] Comp. Bishop Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 154 ff., "On the words denoting *Faith*."

This then is the message which the prophet receives as the answer to his questionings, that in spite of all appearances to the contrary, pride and injustice will perish, while righteousness will endure.

Then, fixing his eye on this turbulent, ferocious, self-confident nation of the Chaldeans, he proceeds to predict their doom. With dramatic vividness he summons the nations which have been their victims to pronounce it. *Shall not all these take up a parable against him, and a taunting riddle, and say, Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his! how long? and that loadeth himself with pledges!* Restless ambition and insatiable lust for conquest will be the ruin of the Chaldeans. By their extortions they are as it were burdening themselves with a crushing load of debt. As suddenly as they themselves have arisen, will others arise to reclaim from them their ill-gotten spoils; as ruthlessly as they have plundered and slain others, will others plunder and slay them. *They that take the sword shall perish with the sword.*

Little will their strong fortresses avail to save them; the very beams and stones of them are eloquent with the tale of their oppressions. Bloodshed and iniquity are not means by which stable cities can be built; the toil of all the nations which labour wearily to rear the palaces of Babylon is destined to the flames: all that opposes the establishment of God's kingdom must be destroyed, for (as Isaiah had declared more than a century before) *the*

earth shall be filled with the knowledge of Jehovah, as the waters cover the sea.

By cunning intrigues they have outwitted their enemies, and gloat over the sorry spectacle of their shame:[1] they in turn must themselves drink of the cup of Jehovah's wrath, and their glory be covered with infamy. Nay, for their misuse of God's world, the very forests of Lebanon which they have wantonly destroyed, and the wild beasts which they have slain in their savage hunting expeditions, will rise in judgement against them.[2]

They have no champion to defend them. What can the idols which they have themselves manufactured avail? *What profiteth the graven image, that the maker thereof hath graven it? the molten image, and the teacher of lies, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make dumb idols?*[3] But how different is the God of Israel! *Jehovah is in His holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him.*

[1] The language appears to be figurative and to refer generally to the fraud as well as force which the Chaldeans employed. But it does not seem impossible that the figure was suggested by an actual occurrence. Herodotus relates that Cyaxares and the Medians "entertained the greater number of the Scythians as their guests, made them drunk, and then massacred them" (i. 106). Such a breach of Oriental laws of hospitality could not fail to make a deep impression, even though the victims of it were the dreaded Scythian invaders.

[2] With the principal ancient versions we must read in ii. 17, *and the destruction of the beasts shall terrify thee.*

[3] It has been suggested that *vv.* 18 and 19 should be transposed, so that *Woe*, etc. may stand first. But it is possible to be led astray by too rigid a demand for symmetry.

These words form the transition to the great ode which occupies ch. iii,—the *prayer of Habakkuk*, as it is called. As the woes upon the Chaldeans correspond to the first clause of the central oracle, so this poem corresponds to the second. For how better shall the prophet enforce the truth that *the righteous shall live in his faithfulness*, than by making men *feel* that the living God rules supreme in the world, and ever and anon comes to judgement with a purpose of victorious righteousness?

Habakkuk has received the assurance that Israel's sins will speedily be punished, and that in turn their proud oppressors will be judged for their offences, while the righteous will live; but that assurance was coupled with a warning that the fulfilment of it might be long delayed. He fears that such long delay may shake the faith of waiting Israel; and so he prays for a speedier accomplishment of the divine purpose—

Jehovah, I have heard Thy message; I am afraid.
Bring Thy work to life, Jehovah, in the midst of the years.
In the midst of the years wilt Thou make it known,
In wrath wilt remember mercy.

The answer to his prayer flashes upon him as in a moment. He beholds as in a vision the advent of Jehovah to judge and to redeem. He describes it in language borrowed from the great deliverances and revelations of the past;—the Red Sea, Sinai, the Jordan, the conquest of the Promised Land. These,

as the language implies, are all pledges for the future. To the Oriental mind, with its disciplined and well-stored memory, the law of association meant far more than it does to us. A word suggested a whole train of thought. A phrase implied an argument. And so it is here. The recollection of the past is the ground of hope for the future. He who once wrought these wonderful works for His people will not fail to work the like again in His own time and His own way.[1]

Habakkuk sees God coming as He came of old to manifest His Presence at Sinai.[2] The radiance of His glory fills heaven and earth. Light unapproachable, impenetrable, conceals His power. When He takes His stand, the earth trembles, nations are scattered, the unchanging mountains are convulsed; as of old He came, so now He comes again.

The nations tremble at His coming. He dries up

[1] Such I believe to be the right principle of interpretation of this difficult ode, following in the main the renderings of the margin of the R.V. Many commentators, adopting the renderings which the text of the R.V. has retained from the A.V., regard it as wholly a historic retrospect, recalling the great deliverances of the past as pledges for the future. This method of interpretation appears to be less in accordance with the grammatical constructions, though it may be admitted that these are not decisive; it involves more difficulties in detail; and it gives a less forcible meaning to the whole. But whichever line of interpretation is followed, the general purport of the whole is the same; to impress upon the heart by the help of the imagination the great truth of God's sovereign rule in the world. For a rendering of the Prayer to illustrate the line of interpretation adopted see Note B, p. 288.

[2] Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Judges v. 4, 5; Ps. lxviii. 7.

the sea, and divides the rivers as He did of old. No obstacles can bar His progress. His bow is drawn to discomfit the enemies of His people.

All nature trembles awestruck. The sun and moon withdraw their light, outshone by the glittering of His arrows and the lightning flash of His spear. He marches through the earth in an irresistible progress of judgement. This is the twofold purpose of His coming, to redeem His people and to execute judgement upon their oppressors.

Thou art come forth for the salvation of Thy people,
For the salvation of Thine anointed;
Thou hast shattered the head from the house of the wicked,
Laying bare the foundation to the rock.
Thou hast pierced with his own spears the head of his warriors,
Who came as a whirlwind to scatter me,
Exulting as it were to devour the afflicted in secret.

The prophet feared when he heard the message of impending judgement (*v.* 2); and now, in view of this awful manifestation of God's Presence and power, he trembles with a terror which convulses his whole frame. But while he trembles, he learns the secret which will give him patience, nay more, rejoicing in the day of trouble, when the land lies utterly desolate from the Chaldean invasion. He can endure, *as seeing Him Who is invisible,* working in the world.

For though the fig tree blossom not,
And there be no fruit upon the vines;

Though the labour of the olive disappoint,
And the fields produce no food;
Though the flock be cut off from the fold,
And there be no herd in the stalls;
Yet as for me, I will exult in Jehovah,
I will rejoice in the God of my salvation.

Earthly hopes may fail, but in Jehovah there is an unfailing spring of calm happiness in the midst of trouble. And one day the indefeasible purpose of Jehovah for His people will be accomplished, He will give them secure possession of their own land. In bold language of faith he sees that goal attained:

Jehovah the Lord is my strength;
He will surely make my feet like hinds' feet,
And cause me to tread upon mine high places.

IV

Permanent value of the book.

Habakkuk's prophecy was a timely word of consolation to those who had to watch the dissolution of their country, the horrors of the Chaldean invasion, the last agony of the siege and capture of Jerusalem, and the shadows of the long night of the captivity settling down over the city and the land they loved. But has he not also a special message for an age like our own, in which the problems of human existence, of permitted evil, of the slow advance of good, press heavily upon thoughtful minds, till some are fain to ask whether there is a righteous God at all, or whether, if there be a righteous God,

He is not contending with antagonistic forces which He cannot altogether control?

Faith and patience are the gist and essence of Habakkuk's message. He teaches us that we must not look at one small part of God's government alone, but study the whole so far as we may see it; for then we shall know that it does make for righteousness; we shall learn to trust where we cannot understand; we shall be enabled to wait in patience for the end which will solve the riddle. We see in Habakkuk an example of the higher faith that comes through doubt—doubt not captious and hasty, but reverent, humble, patient, longing to know more of God and of His ways. Such questionings as his are answered, not with a demonstration that will satisfy the caviller who demands to live by sight, but with that fuller sense of God—for us of God in Christ—which is life eternal.

Lord, who Thy thousand years dost wait
To work the thousandth part
Of Thy vast plan, for us create
With zeal, a patient heart.

Note A.—Integrity and Structure of the Book of Habakkuk.

I do not propose to discuss the grounds upon which some modern critics maintain that chaps. i. 1–ii. 8 is the only part of the book which is to be assigned to the Habakkuk of the Chaldean period; ch. ii. 9-20 being an addition of post-exilic times, describing a heathen or heathenishly disposed

enemy of the congregation, and ch. iii a prayer of the post-exilic congregation in time of distress, possibly written by the author of ch. ii. 9-20, possibly taken from some collection of Psalms arranged for use in the Temple. If the view of the organic connexion between the several parts of the book which I have endeavoured to maintain is correct, the theory falls to the ground, unless it is to be supposed that the original prophecy has been worked up by a literary artist at least as skilful as the prophet himself. In support of the view taken in the text I append the following analysis.

The book falls into three main divisions.

A.—The Problem. Ch. i.

(1) Habakkuk speaks, expostulating with Jehovah for allowing wrong to triumph unchecked so long in Judah (2-4).

(2) Jehovah answers, pointing to the Chaldeans, whom He has raised up to chastise the guilty nation. Their terrible character is described (5-11).

(3) Habakkuk rejoins, expressing his astonishment that Jehovah can not only tolerate these monsters of cruelty, but use them as His instruments. Are they to go on for ever unchecked in their course of rapine? (12-17).

B.—The Solution :—part i. Ch. ii.

(1) Habakkuk pauses, waiting for Jehovah's answer, and considering how he may best defend his bold challenge of the divine rectitude (*v.* 1).

(2) The answer comes, declaring that the proud Chaldean contains in himself the germ of ruin, while the righteous possesses the principle of life (2-4).

(3) The first of these thoughts is expanded. The Chaldean's drunkenness, his restless ambition, his insatiable lust

for conquest will prove his ruin (*v.* 5). His victims are introduced [1] heaping their execrations upon him in a series of woes, for the barbarous cruelties of his conquests, which will recoil upon his own head (6-8); for the bloodshed and injustice by which his empire has been established (9-11); for the merciless tyranny by which his capital has been built (12-14); for the cunning intrigues by which he has entrapped his victims and for his wanton outrages on nature (15-17); for his senseless idolatry (18-20).

V. 20 contrasts the living God with the dumb and lifeless idols, and forms the transition to

C.—The Solution :—part ii. Ch. iii.

(1) Habakkuk has heard the announcement of God's judgement on Israel, and of the ultimate doom of the Chaldeans. But he fears that the long postponement of the latter which is contemplated (ii. 2, 3) may prove too severe a trial of faith, and therefore he prays that the time of waiting may be shortened (iii. 2).

(2) The answer to his prayer is given in the fuller revelation of Jehovah's working in the world, which is expressed by the description of His Advent to redeem His people and to judge their enemies (3-15).

(3) Reflecting on this sublime Theophany the prophet (speaking in the name of the faithful Israel) expresses his determination to rejoice in Jehovah even in the midst of distress, in full assurance that He will one day put His people in secure possession of their land (16-19).

It may be observed in conclusion that the dramatic character of this 'prayer' is entirely in keeping with the

[1] Perhaps this idea is lost sight of after *v.* 8, and in *vv.* 9 ff. the prophet speaks rather in his own person.

dramatic character of chaps. i and ii; although it differs from those chapters as poetry from prose.

Note B.—The Prayer of Habakkuk.

I subjoin a rendering of ch. iii to illustrate the line of interpretation adopted in the text.

A Prayer[1] *of Habakkuk the prophet. In the dithyrambic mode.*[2]

I

Jehovah, I have heard Thy message; I am afraid.
Bring Thy work to life, Jehovah, in the midst of the years.
In the midst of the years wilt Thou make it known,
In wrath wilt remember mercy.

II

God cometh from Teman,
And the Holy One from Mount Paran.
His majesty covereth the heavens,
And the earth is full of His praise.
For brightness appeareth as the sunlight,
He hath rays coming forth from His hand;
And there is the hiding-place of His power.
Before Him goeth Pestilence,
And Fever followeth in His track.

He hath taken His stand, and made earth to quake;
He hath looked, and made nations tremble;
And the eternal mountains are scattered,

[1] Cp. 1 Sam. ii. 1; Psalms lxxii. 20; xc. 1.

[2] *Shigiōnōth*, the plural of *Shiggaion* (Psalm vii), probably denotes a particular style of music or poetry, or may include both.

The æonian hills do bow ;
His goings are as of old.
Under affliction do I see the tents of Cushan ;
The curtains of the land of Midian are trembling.

Is it against the rivers, O Jehovah,
Is it against the rivers that Thine anger is kindled,
Is Thy fury against the sea,
That Thou ridest upon Thine horses,
Upon Thy chariots of salvation ?
Thy bow is bared fully bare ;
(By oath are Thy chastisements decreed) ;[1]
With rivers Thou cleavest the earth.

The mountains see Thee, they tremble ;
The flood of waters overflows :
The deep utters his voice,
The height lifts up his hands.
Sun and moon abide in their dwelling,
At the light of Thine arrows as they go,
At the lightning flash of Thy spear,
When Thou dost march through the earth in indignation,
Dost thresh the nations in anger.

Thou art come forth for the salvation of Thy people,
For the salvation of Thine anointed ;
Thou hast shattered the head from the house of the wicked,
Laying bare the foundation to the rock.[2]
Thou hast pierced with his own spears the head of his warriors,
Who came as a whirlwind to scatter me,
Exulting as it were to devour the afflicted in secret.

[1] Reading and interpretation are very uncertain.
[2] Adopting Cheyne's ingenious emendation, *Psalms*, p. 396.

Thou hast trodden the sea with Thine horses,
The heap of mighty waters.

III

I heard, and I trembled inwardly;
My lips quivered at the voice;
The strength of my bones decayed,
And my limbs trembled under me:
That I must wait calmly for the day of distress,
When the troop of invaders cometh up against my people.
For though the fig tree blossom not,
And there be no fruit upon the vines;
Though the labour of the olive disappoint,
And the fields produce no food;
Though the flock be cut off from the fold,
And there be no herd in the stalls;
Yet as for me, I will exult in Jehovah,
I will rejoice in the God of my salvation.
Jehovah, the Lord, is my strength;
He will surely make my feet like hinds' feet,
And cause me to tread upon mine high places.

LECTURE XI

JEREMIAH

Behold, I have put My words in thy mouth: see, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow; to build, and to plant.—JEREMIAH i. 9, 10.

I

Tragic interest of the life and times of Jeremiah.

THERE is a tragic interest attaching to the life and times of Jeremiah. The circumstances of the age, the person of the prophet, the character of his message, all combine to demand our sympathetic study. Who can watch unmoved, even at the distance of twenty-five centuries, the death-agony of a nation, and that nation the chosen people of God? Who can fail to be deeply touched by the story of the prophet's life-long martyrdom, ended not improbably by a martyr's death,—that story with its frank confessions of human weakness, and its unrivalled testimony to the reality of God-given strength? Who can ponder without awe the record of human hardness and obstinacy, insensible alike to the pleadings of love and the denunciations of

wrath? Who can trace without wonder and reverence the irresistible advance of God's purpose through and in spite of man's opposition to His will, bringing life out of death, and shaping a new order out of the dissolution of the old?

His book.

The Book of Jeremiah is a combination of history, biography, and prophecy, which carries us into the heart of the age, and pictures for us the character of the prophet, more strikingly and completely than any of the other prophetic books. It is—let it be freely confessed—less attractive in outward form than Isaiah, and consequently perhaps it is less familiar to most readers of the Bible; but it yields to no book in its intensely *human* interest, and deserves the most attentive study.

II

History of the time:—Josiah, B.C. *640–609.*

Very briefly let us recall the history of that long half-century during which Jeremiah's ministry lasted (B.C. 627-577). His call took place in the thirteenth year of Josiah (i. 1). It was an auspicious moment. The power of Assyria was weakened; and although probably still nominally subject to it, Judah was enjoying practical freedom. A noble-hearted king was on the throne in the bloom of youth, surrounded by right-minded advisers. A religious reformation had just been set on foot[1] to purge the country

Josiah's reformation.

[1] According to 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, Josiah began his reformation in the twelfth year of his reign, the year before Jeremiah's call.

of the idolatrous worship and flagrant immoralities which had been dominant through the long and disastrous reign of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi; xxiii. 4 ff.; Jer. vii. 9 ff., 17 ff., 30 ff.; viii. 2; xix. 13; xxxii. 29, etc.; Zeph. i. 4 ff.). That reign, with its horrible enormities, had filled up the measure of Judah's guilt (2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4; Jer. xv. 4); yet in God's forbearance one last opportunity of repentance was to be offered ere the final sentence of doom was pronounced on the apostate nation and the guilty city.

This movement of reform Jeremiah supported by his public preaching. To this period may be referred, in the main at least, the contents of chaps. ii-vi (see iii. 6); though it is highly probable that some of these utterances were modified in the light of subsequent experience, when he committed them to writing in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim. Repentance was indeed still possible. *Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place,* are the words in which he sums up the teaching of this period (vii. 3). But he seems soon to have found that the sin of Judah was so ingrained and inveterate that there was but little hope of any thorough amendment. The sin of Judah was *written with a pen of iron, with the point of a diamond* (xvii. 1); and their virtual reply to all his exhortations to repentance was, *There is no hope; for we will walk after our own devices, and we will do every one after the stubbornness of his evil heart* (xviii. 12).

Eighteen years after the commencement of Jeremiah's ministry, Josiah fell, fighting against Pharaoh-Necoh, on the fatal battlefield of Megiddo. The last hopes of Judah perished with him.

Jehoahaz, B.C. 609.

His second son, Jehoahaz or Shallum, was placed on the throne; but, after a brief reign of three months, he was enticed by Pharaoh-Necoh to Riblah,[1] made prisoner, and carried away to Egypt. Jeremiah and Ezekiel appear to have seen some promise of good in him, for they both speak with sorrow of his untimely fate (Jer. xxii. 10-12; Ezek. xix. 3, 4).

Jehoiakim, B.C. 609.

In his stead Necoh placed Josiah's eldest son Eliakim on the throne, changing his name to Jehoiakim. Judah thus became a dependency of Egypt.

Jehoiakim was a cruel, selfish, luxurious prince (Jer. xxii. 13 ff.). With his accession the old paganising party again came into power. The worship of Jehovah was not indeed suspended, but it was combined with heathen idolatries. But mark God's long-suffering. Still the offer of pardon was held out, and on two occasions at least it was deliberately and contemptuously rejected.

The first of these occasions was in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign (xxvi. 1 ff.; cp. vii. 1 ff.).

[1] Riblah was on the Orontes, midway between Damascus and Hamath. It was the meeting-point of the main routes eastward to the Euphrates, westward to the coast and Phoenicia, southward to Damascus and the Jordan. Pharaoh-Necoh was halting there before advancing to the Euphrates; and Nebuchadnezzar made it his headquarters for his campaign against Jerusalem and Phoenicia (Jer. xxxix. 5, 6).

Jeremiah was directed to take his stand in the Temple court on some public fast or festival, when the inhabitants of all the cities of Judah would have come to Jerusalem to worship, and there deliver his message in the ears of all the people. *It may be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way; that I may repent Me of the evil, which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings.* But instead of repenting, the people, led by the priests and the prophets, seized Jeremiah and clamoured for his life. The charge against him, like the charge against our Lord Himself and against St. Stephen, was one of blasphemy, for threatening the Temple and city with desolation (*vv.* 11, 12). He was only saved by the courageous firmness of certain elders, who defended him by quoting the example of Micah in the reign of Hezekiah, won over the people in spite of the persistent hostility of priests and prophets (xxvi. 16, 17), and secured his acquittal.

The second occasion was in the fifth year of Jehoiakim (xxxvi. 9 ff.). The roll which Baruch had written at Jeremiah's dictation, and read in public on the great fast day in the ears of all the people, was taken to the king. We are familiar with the scene of the king sitting with his courtiers in his winter-palace, with the fire in a brasier burning before him. Jehudi began to read the roll to him, but he had read no more than three or four columns when the king impatiently seized it, contemptuously

cut it to shreds with his own hand, and flung it into the fire which was burning before him. A few of the more reverently-minded princes made intercession to the king not to burn the roll, but he would not listen to them. The rest looked on with indifference or approval. The prophet's warnings made no impression on them. The king's contempt for Jehovah's message did not strike them with any horror. *They were not afraid, nor rent their garments, neither the king, nor any of his servants that heard all these words.* Thus once more, through its chief head and representative, the nation proclaimed its impenitence, and set the seal to its doom.

Meanwhile the great battle of Carchemish,[1] in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 605, had settled the question of the supremacy of Western Asia. In that great battle—it was one of the decisive battles of ancient history—the forces of Egypt under Necoh met those of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xlvi. 2 ff.). Nebuchadnezzar was completely victorious, and the Egyptians were compelled to retreat. For the moment he was unable to follow up his success, as his father's death recalled him to Babylon. But he soon returned to secure the fruits of his

[1] Carchemish used generally to be identified with the classical Circesium, at the junction of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, but is now thought to have been situated much farther up the river to the north-west at *Jerabis*. In either case it commanded the passage of the Euphrates, and hence the decisive battle was fought there.

victory, drove Necoh's forces back to Egypt, and added to the Babylonian empire all the provinces which had belonged to Egypt, right up to the frontier of that country (2 Kings xxiv. 7). Jehoiakim became his vassal. For three years he served him, and then rebelled. It was an act of mad folly. Nebuchadnezzar soon appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. Jehoiakim probably fell in some skirmish.[1] His son Jehoiachin, otherwise known as Jeconiah or Coniah, succeeded him. But after a brief reign of three months he was compelled to surrender. He was carried prisoner to Babylon; and Josiah's youngest son Mattaniah was placed on the throne—if throne it could now be called—under the name of Zedekiah. The name signifies *Jehovah's righteousness.* Did the heathen monarch know what bitter irony and stern truth there was in the name which he gave the puppet king? *Jehovah's righteousness:* just what the faithless king and the ungodly people would not believe in; and because they would not believe in it, and respond to it in their lives, it must be made manifest in the awful judgements now about to fall on the people of God.

Jehoiachin, B.C. *597.*

Zedekiah, B.C. *597–586.*

Calamity produced no reformation. In vain Jeremiah declared that submission to the yoke of Babylon was God's will; that the exiles in Babylon should resign themselves to a prolonged sojourn there, and

[1] Jer. xxii. 19; comp. the silence of 2 Kings xxiv. 6 about his burial.

that those who remained in Judaea should bear the yoke of vassalage with equanimity. In the fourth year of his reign Zedekiah seems to have been plotting rebellion. It is clear from the purport of Jeremiah's message to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon (xxvii. 1 ff.),[1] that their object in sending ambassadors to Jerusalem was to form a confederacy to throw off the yoke of Babylon; and it is natural to connect Zedekiah's visit to Babylon in the same year (li. 59) with this movement. Nebuchadnezzar no doubt had heard of it, and forthwith summoned his vassal to appear before him and renew his oath of allegiance.

At length Pharaoh-Hophrâ came to the throne, and, trusting in the old delusion of Egyptian support, Zedekiah broke his oath. An oath was none the less binding because it was taken to a heathen king. Indignantly Ezekiel asks, *Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such things? shall he break the covenant and yet escape?* (xvii. 15, 16). Nebuchadnezzar with a powerful army appeared before Jerusalem and besieged it. The advance of an Egyptian army compelled him temporarily to raise the siege (Jer. xxxvii. 5 ff.). But the end was close at hand. After an eighteen months' siege famine made further resistance impossible. A breach was made in the walls, and the city was taken, on the ninth day of the

Destruction of Jerusalem, B.C. 586.

[1] It is evident from xxvii. 3, 12, 20; xxviii. 1, that *Jehoiakim* in xxvii. 1 is a textual error for *Zedekiah*.

fourth month of the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. Zedekiah attempted to escape, but was captured by the Chaldeans, and brought before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. After his sons and the nobles who had been taken prisoners had been put to death before his eyes, he was himself blinded, according to the brutal custom of the time, and carried in fetters to Babylon. Ezekiel's prophecy that he should not see Babylon, though he would die there (Ezek. xii. 13), was fulfilled to the letter. A month later Nebuzaradan appeared at Jerusalem to execute his master's sentence on the rebellious city (2 Kings xxv. 8 ff.). The principal priests and officers and sixty prominent citizens were sent to Riblah for execution; all the remaining treasures of the temple were carried off; the temple, palace, and city were burnt; and all the people of the better class were carried away into exile. Only some of the poorest of the people were left behind to cultivate the land. Over these Gedaliah, the son of Jeremiah's protector Ahikam, was appointed governor. Here, at least, there seemed to be a gleam of hope. But the miserable jealousy of a member of the royal family—Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, instigated by Baalis, king of Judah's ancient enemies the Ammonites—speedily quenched it. Gedaliah was treacherously murdered; the leaders of the people, fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans, migrated—in defiance of Jeremiah's advice—to Egypt, where the Jews were scattered about, and

fell into their old idolatries (Jer. xl-xliv). Five years later another deportation completed the depopulation of Judaea (lii. 30); the land was left utterly desolate *to enjoy her sabbaths;* Jeremiah's predictions and threatenings were fulfilled to the very letter in his own lifetime, and before his own eyes.

Thus, by the utter destruction of city and sanctuary, another volume of Israel's history was closed. The destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh had marked the end of the age of the Judges; the destruction of Solomon's Temple marked the end of the period of the monarchy; the destruction of the second Temple by Titus was to mark by a yet more terrible catastrophe the close of the national history of Israel in their own land.

It is necessary thus briefly to trace the features of the history of Jeremiah's times, and to point out the obstinacy, the impenitence, the infatuation of kings, princes, and people during at any rate the last half of that eventful fifty years, if we would at all realise the agony, the bitterness, the struggle of Jeremiah's ministry, as the long night of the exile settled down in storm and gloom upon his beloved country, and estimate the strength of the prophetic inspiration by which he was enabled to foresee a nobler city arising out of the ruins of the old, a new covenant taking the place of that which seemed to have been so decisively annulled.

III

The prophet Jeremiah.

Let us now fix our attention on the prophet himself. His book is to a large extent an autobiography —a volume of personal "confessions," from which we learn to know him in his weakness as well as his strength, and to sympathise with him in the trying circumstances of his long and arduous ministry. He was a priest, and his home was at Anathoth, a village about three miles to the north-east of Jerusalem. His active ministry was mainly exercised in Jerusalem, but apparently he continued to live at Anathoth (xi. 21; xii. 6; xxxii. 7). He was but a youth when *the word of Jehovah came to him.* He would fain have declined the call. *Ah, Lord Jehovah! behold, I cannot speak; for I am a child.* But man's *I cannot* was met by God's *Thou shalt. Say not, I am a child: for upon whatsoever errand I shall send thee thou shalt go, and whatsoever I shall command thee thou shalt speak. . . . Behold, I have put My words in thy mouth: see, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow; to build and to plant. . . . Gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at them, lest I dismay thee before them* (i. 6 ff., 17).

His call, ch. i. 4 ff.

His character.

We mark at the outset the prophet's natural timidity of character, and reluctance to face the

terrible task before him. The same characteristics reappear in later life, when, in the midst of defamation and persecution, he would gladly have kept silence, or fled to some solitary lodge in the wilderness (xx. 9 ; ix. 2). Jeremiah was not the man upon whom human choice would have fallen for so difficult, nay, desperate a mission; but God chooses the weak for His instruments, in order that the strength with which He endows them may be seen to be all His own.

His mission. Yet we may recognise in Jeremiah's character a special fitness for his mission. That tender, shrinking, sympathetic heart could more fully feel, and more adequately express, the ineffable divine sorrow over the guilty people, the eternal love which was never stronger than at the moment when it seemed to have been metamorphosed into bitter wrath and implacable vengeance.

Jeremiah's commission concerned not Israel only, but "the nations": he was to be the exponent of God's world-plan in that age of convulsion and upheaval. It was primarily *to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow;* though ultimately *to build, and to plant;* in other words, to announce the removal of the existing order of things to make room for a fresh one. Jehovah was as the potter who shapes his work upon the wheels, remoulding it into new forms according to his purpose, dealing with nations and men in His sovereign

power, not arbitrarily or capriciously, but according to their deserts. It was a commission which might well have daunted a bolder heart than Jeremiah's. Alone he must stand, in opposition to rulers and people alike, to kings and princes, priests and prophets, and all the people of the land (i. 18). Some friends and supporters he had in the earlier days of his ministry; but they died or were carried into exile, and the more he needed support and encouragement as his mission grew more difficult, the more entirely was it denied him. He was to form no domestic ties; to abstain from sharing the social joys, or shewing his sympathy with the natural sorrows, of his countrymen (xvi. 1 ff.). His stern and cheerless life of isolation must express the burden of his message, and figure the doom of his people.

Modes of work.

We may watch him at his work, delivering his message in the most public places, on the most public occasions, in the Temple courts, at the royal palace, at the city gates, upon days of fast or festival, when the people from the country had come to Jerusalem to worship.[1] We see him using as the foundation of his teaching symbolism which involved a laborious journey (xiii. 1); deducing a lesson of warning from the sight of the potter at his wheel (xviii. 1 ff.); taking a party of elders into the valley of Hinnom by the "potsherds' gate," and breaking

[1] See vii. 2; xvii. 19; xix. 14; xxii. 1; xxvi. 2; xxxv. 2; xxxvi. 5, 10.

an earthen pitcher into fragments before them as an illustration of the ease with which Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the irreparableness of the destruction (xix. 1 ff.). He takes the Rechabites, and tests their loyalty to their father's command, in order to point to the contrast between their fidelity to a father's precept and Israel's disregard of Jehovah's law (xxxv. 1 ff.). In the last siege of Jerusalem he proves his confidence that his prophecies of ultimate restoration would be fulfilled, by exercising his right as next of kin to redeem a field at Anathoth, on which very possibly the Chaldeans were at that moment encamped (xxxii. 6 ff.).

With the help of his faithful scribe and disciple Baruch, he commits his prophecies to writing, gathering together a record of his first twenty-three years of ministry, at the crisis when Nebuchadnezzar was on the point of invading Judah; and when the godless Jehoiakim destroyed the roll, re-writing it with many fresh additions. Specially was he charged to commit to writing those wonderful prophecies of restoration which form the Book of Consolation (chaps. xxx-xxxiii), to be a witness during the long years of exile to Jehovah's purpose, and a comfort to the faithful in their banishment from country and sanctuary and all that they held most dear.

His sufferings.

Jeremiah's ministry was a life-long martyrdom. Not only was it in its nature a burden that might

well have crushed the strongest spirit; not only was he compelled to stand almost alone against the whole nation; but he was actually the object of bitter persecution: his very life was constantly in danger. His neighbours at Anathoth sought to murder him. *They devised devices* against him, saying, *Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered* (xi. 18 ff.). His own family raised the hue and cry after him, and could not be trusted (xii. 6). *Denounce, and we will denounce him, say all my familiar friends, they that watch for my halting; peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him* (xx. 10). The priest who was the chief officer of the Temple thrust him in the stocks for profaning (as he thought) the Temple court with his forebodings of evil (xx. 1 ff.). The popular prophets were in constant opposition to him, both in Jerusalem and in Babylon (xxiii. 9 ff.; xxviii. 1; xxix. 1), endeavouring, only too successfully, to neutralise his message with their flattering falsehoods. Not even when he solemnly predicted the death of Hananiah, and his prediction came to pass within two months (xxviii. 16 f.), nor when he declared that Ahab and Zedekiah, who were not only false prophets, but immoral livers, would suffer the horrible Babylonian punishment of being burnt alive (xxix. 21 ff.), did the people believe him.

Priests and prophets, as we have seen, clamoured for his life, and put him upon his trial for predicting the destruction of the city and the Temple. Jehoiakim sought to arrest him after he had written the roll, and he might easily have shared the fate of Uriah (xxvi. 20 ff.). That prophet, for predictions similar to those of Jeremiah, incurred the king's displeasure, and though he fled to Egypt, he was brought back and put to death, and his corpse ignominiously flung into the graves of the common people. In the profane degeneracy of this unbelieving age, no inviolable sanctity attached to the person of a prophet. In the siege he was charged with the intention of deserting to the Chaldeans, and was thrown into prison (xxxvii. 14 ff.). The military party demanded his execution. The pusillanimous king dared not oppose them. They flung him into a filthy dungeon, to perish by starvation; and he was only rescued from it by the charity of a foreigner (xxxviii. 1 ff.). He was dragged away perforce to Egypt by the men who consulted him whether they should remain in Jerusalem, and then had not faith or courage to follow his advice (xliii. 6). Finally, if tradition may be accepted, he was stoned to death at Daphnae, in Egypt, by the angry people, who were impatient of his denunciations of their idolatries.

Jeremiah's complaints

We should have been glad to think that he endured this persecution with meekness and patience

and forgivingness. We can hardly, indeed, be surprised that he bemoans his hard lot, or even curses the day of his birth (xv. 10 ff.; xx. 14 ff.). Many a Christian man's faith has failed him, and in moments of despair he has wished that he had never been born. When he challenges the justice of God's government (xii. 1 ff.), or even complains that he has been deceived and deluded (xx. 7), we can sympathise with the human despair and weariness which for the moment loses its hold on God, and sinks exhausted and hopeless.

and denunciations of his enemies.

But we are startled, nay, horror-struck, to hear his bitter curses against his persecutors, his passionate invocations of divine vengeance upon them.[1] They reach a terrible climax in ch. xviii. 19 ff., where he prays:

Give heed to me, Jehovah, and hearken unto the voice of my plea.[2] *Shall evil be recompensed for good? for they have digged a pit for my soul. Remember how I stood before Thee to speak good for them, to turn away Thy fury from them. Therefore deliver up their children to the famine, and give them over to the power of the sword; and let their wives become childless and widows; and let their men be slain of death, and their young men smitten of the sword in battle. . . . For Thou, Jehovah, Thou knowest all their counsel against me to*

[1] See xi. 18 ff.; xv. 15 ff.; xvii. 18; xviii. 19 ff.; xx. 11 ff.

[2] This reading of the LXX suits the context better than that of the Heb. text, *the voice of them that contend with me.* Cp. ch. xx. 12; Job xiii. 6.

slay me: forgive not their iniquity, neither blot Thou their sin from Thy sight; but let them be made to stumble before Thee: deal Thou with them in the time of Thine anger.

Let us be just to Jeremiah. The provocation was tremendous. The most strenuous efforts for the welfare of his countrymen were recompensed with treacherous plots against his life, or open demands for his execution. And we must not judge him by the standard of the Gospel. It is the spirit of Elijah and Elisha, not of Christ. It is the spirit of Zechariah, whose dying words were, *The Lord look upon it and require it;* not the spirit of Stephen, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* Let it be granted that some personal vindictiveness was mingled with those imprecations. But there was a far deeper meaning in them. They were —in however imperfect a way—the expression of a desire for the triumph of righteousness, for the manifestation of God's justice in the world. We must remember how keenly the prophet felt that his cause was God's cause, and that his enemies were God's enemies; that God's honour was at stake to defend and vindicate His prophet, and prove his opponents to be utterly in the wrong; while in those times the idea of future rectification and redress of the wrongs of this world was hardly, if at all, entertained, and godly men longed to see God's righteous judgement visibly manifested in this present life.

Nor must we forget the other side of the prophet's character; the tender sympathy of his nature,—I suspect it was largely this which made him feel the malice of his persecutors so bitterly—the deep sorrow with which he watched his infatuated country rushing madly to irreparable ruin (*e.g.* iv. 19 ff.; viii. 18 ff.); the faith that believed and obeyed and acted even where it could not understand (xxxii. 17 ff.), resting itself upon the character of God revealed and proved in the long history of His dealings with His people. *Another side of his character.*

Unchristlike as was his temper in denouncing his enemies, men have rightly seen in Jeremiah a type of Christ. The solitary sufferer, defamed and persecuted, and opposed by the spiritual leaders of the nation, in an age when the country was hastening to ruin, prefigures Him who was *to suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes*, as He made the last offer of God's mercy to an obdurate people, before they were scattered for a dispersion compared to which the seventy years of exile were to be but as a few days. *Jeremiah a type of Christ.*

IV

From the prophet we turn to his message. It was in the main a call to repentance and a warning of judgement. Like Amos and Hosea, he based his preaching on the relation of Jehovah to Israel. Jehovah had chosen Israel, and entered into covenant with them; He had brought them out of Egypt, and led them *Jeremiah's teaching.* *Jehovah and Israel.*

through the wilderness; He had continually educated them by the ministry of His prophets (ii. 1 ff., 6 ff.; vii. 25). Like Hosea, Jeremiah uses the figures of marriage and sonship to describe the closeness of Israel's relation to Jehovah, and the duties implied in that relationship. *I remember for thee the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals; how thou wentest after Me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown* (ii. 2). *I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn* (xxxi. 9).

Israel's sins:—

But Israel had forsaken Jehovah, and chosen other gods; and false belief had led to a deep-seated and inveterate moral degeneracy. *My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken Me the fountain of living waters, to hew out for themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that hold no water. . . . I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a true seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto Me?* (ii. 13, 21).

Idolatry.

Idolatry was openly practised in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem;[1] the very Temple had been polluted (vii. 30); Jerusalem had been defiled with the abominations of human sacrifices; and it would seem that these horrors had actually been defended as pleasing to Jehovah, for He has expressly to disclaim ever having given such a commandment (vii. 31). The people fancied that

[1] See i. 16; vii. 16 ff.; viii. 2, 19; xi. 13; xxxii. 29 ff.; xliv. 2 ff., 7 ff.

they could unite these idolatries with the worship of Jehovah, utterly failing to recognise that he was "the jealous God," who would not tolerate a divided allegiance, no, not for a moment.

Unbelief.

This provocation of Jehovah was combined with a contemptuous scepticism. *They have denied Jehovah, and said, It is not He; neither shall evil come upon us* (v. 12). They were not indeed speculative atheists, denying His existence; but they were practical atheists, for they denied the reality and the righteousness of His government of the world.

Immorality.

Corruption in religion had borne fruit in corruption of conduct. Faithlessness and falsehood, injustice and covetousness, violence and murder, were universal.[1] Jerusalem was like Sodom in the days of Lot. There was no salt of righteousness in her to preserve her. *Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that doeth justly, that speaketh the truth, and I will pardon her* (v. 1). Her sins cried out for punishment. *Shall I not visit for these things? saith Jehovah: shall not my soul be avenged upon such a nation as this?* (v. 29).

Blind formalism.

Yet the blind confidence of the people in the outward forms of religion remained unshaken. They offered their sacrifices. Indignantly the prophet re-

[1] See v. 1, 26-28; vi. 6 ff., 13; vii. 5 ff.; ix. 2 ff., 8; etc., and for illustration, xxxiv. 8 ff.

pudiates the idea that a ritual of sacrifice was the sum and substance of the Mosaic legislation (vii. 21 ff.). Bluntly they are told that their offerings are not acceptable (vi. 20). Severely they are asked, *Shall vows and holy flesh take away from thee thy wickednesses, or shalt thou escape by these?*[1] They trusted in the presence of the Temple in their midst, and, pointing to its buildings, exclaimed, with the iteration of fanaticism, *The temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah, are these* (vii. 4); and therefore, they argued, no evil could happen to them. But sternly Jehovah demands, *Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye have not known, and come and stand before Me in this house, which is called by My name, and say, Deliver us?*[2]*—that ye may do all these abominations! Is this house, which is called by My name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?* (vii. 9 ff.).

Self-confidence.

They trusted in the wisdom of their "wise men"—the philosophical thinkers and political advisers of the state; in the law which the priests and scribes expounded with an easy-going opportunism; in the comfortable assurances with which the false prophets drugged their consciences. The established order of things was very satisfactory: it was not going to

[1] Ch. xi. 15, according to the LXX. The Massoretic text can only be translated by violence, and gives no satisfactory sense.

[2] Ewald rightly suggests that, by a simple change of vowel points, the verb should be read in the imperative.

come to an end just yet; Jeremiah was a revolutionary disturber of the public peace to challenge its excellence. *We are wise,* they said, *and the law of Jehovah is with us. . . . The law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet* (viii. 8 ff.; xviii. 18).

Obduracy

No prophetic exhortation could convince them of their sin. No chastisement could bring them to repentance. When judgement fell upon them they would ask, with an air of injured innocence, *Wherefore hath Jehovah our God done all these things unto us?* (v. 19; xiii. 22: xvi. 10). They were incorrigible (v. 3), and nothing was left but to write Judah's epitaph: *This is the nation that hath not hearkened to the voice of Jehovah their God, nor received correction: truth is perished, and is cut off from their mouth* (vii. 28).

Therefore nothing remains but judgement. The city and nation must be swept away. The old order must be destroyed that a new one may arise in its place: death is the only hope of life.

Change of tone in Jeremiah's prophecies from hopefulness

At first, indeed, there is a tone of hopefulness in Jeremiah's message. Reformation was still possible. The exile might still be averted (iv. 3; vi. 8). *Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place* (vii. 3). This is the purport of the prophecies which belong to the reign of Josiah (chaps. ii-vi), though even in these a sense of the desperateness of Judah's case frequently appears.

Perhaps the prophet saw the superficiality of the reformation; perhaps, too, they are coloured by the state of affairs in the reign of Jehoiakim, when they were committed to writing.

In the prophecies of the early years of Jehoiakim hope and despair alternate. The offer of pardon is still made, but the impression left by the discourses of this period is that the prophet was thoroughly convinced that the conditions of pardon would never be accepted. The people are heard pronouncing their own doom. When Jehovah pleaded with them, *Return ye now every one from his evil way, and amend your ways and your doings*, their answer, in deeds if not in words, was this, *There is no hope: for we will walk after our own devices, and we will do every one after the stubbornness of his evil heart* (xviii. 12).

to the conviction that judgement is inevitable.

And so from the fifth year of Jehoiakim and onward the stern sentence goes forth. They are a people past praying for, and Jeremiah is forbidden to intercede for them any more.[1] Could there be a more terrible command than this? *Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to Me: for I will not hear thee* (vii. 16). God's patience is exhausted. Nay, even if the most famous intercessors of all history, Moses and Samuel, could arise to plead their cause, yet would they not prevail to avert the judgement (xv. 1 ff.).

[1] See vii. 16 ff.; xi. 14; xiv. 11; xv. 1.

The seventy years' duration of the Babylonian supremacy was now plainly proclaimed (xxv. 11 ff.); those who were carried away to Babylon with Jehoiachin were bidden to settle there, and prepare for this prolonged sojourn in the land of exile (xxix. 4 ff.); those who remained in Judaea were counselled to bow to the Chaldean yoke, for thus alone might the severity of their punishment be mitigated, if they would resign themselves to Jehovah's will (xxvii. 9 ff., 12 ff.). And thus in the final siege Jeremiah had to bear the reproach of being a traitor and a renegade, because he must needs preach surrender when prolonged resistance was but a futile effort to evade the inevitable divine decree (xxi. 8 ff.; xxxvii. 6 ff.; xxxviii. 3 ff.).

V

Hope directed to the future.

From that gloomy and desperate present, that terrible spectacle of an obdurate and impenitent people courting its own doom, Jeremiah turned his gaze to the future. In his sternest denunciations of judgement he held out the promise of restoration. In the darkest gloom of the night of calamity he foresaw the dawn of a brighter day. In the death-agony of his nation he foretold its resurrection to a new life. The fullest promises are collected in the "Book of Consolation" (chaps. xxx-xxxiii), a series of prophecies which he was specially enjoined to commit to writing as the record of God's fore-

ordained purpose. But they are not confined to this book. Let us try to gather out a general idea of their substance.

Imperishableness of Israel.

(1) The indestructibility of Israel was from the first one of his favourite doctrines. The judgement which must be inflicted is designed for correction, not annihilation. *I am with thee, saith Jehovah, to save thee: for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, but I will not make a full end of thee; but I will correct thee with judgement, and will in no wise leave thee unpunished* (xxx. 11; cp. iv. 27; v. 10, 18; xlvi. 28; x. 24). He insists upon God's good and loving purpose in this chastisement. *I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith Jehovah, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you an hereafter and a hope* (xxix. 11).

The return from exile.

(2) The nation must go into captivity; but the day for return will come when the seventy years are over—a decade of punishment for each century of sin—and the double recompence of their iniquities has been inflicted (xvi. 18). The exodus from Babylon will eclipse the memory of the exodus from Egypt (xvi. 14 ff.), and restoration will be for Israel as well as Judah (iii. 12 ff.). *Fear thou not, O Jacob My servant, saith Jehovah; neither be dismayed, O Israel: for, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be quiet and at ease, and none shall make him afraid* (xxx. 10). The storm of the Lord's fury will

burst upon the head of the wicked (xxx. 23), but the day of Babylon's distress will be the hour of Israel's redemption (xxx. 7).

In tenderest language does God declare His love for Israel. *Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore have I continued lovingkindness unto thee* (xxxi. 3). It is the love of the father's heart yearning over his prodigal son. *Is Ephraim My precious son? is he a darling child? for as often as I speak against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore My heart yearns for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith Jehovah* (xxxi. 20, cp. ver. 9). Rachel's tears for her lost children are dried (xxxi. 16). Ephraim laments his sin, and prays for the grace of penitence (iii. 21 ff.). A holy people return, and Zion can be saluted with a greeting worthy of her name as the city of God: *Jehovah bless thee, O habitation of justice, O mountain of holiness* (xxxi. 23).

The Messianic King.

(3) A succession of worthless kings had disgraced the throne; but in that day of restoration true and faithful shepherds will be raised up to take the place of these false and selfish tyrants. Pre-eminent above them all towers the figure of One whose Name is a pledge of the new dispensation which He inaugurates. *Behold the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch,*[1] *and he shall reign as king, and deal wisely, and shall execute*

[1] Lit. *Shoot* or *Growth.* See p. 187.

judgement and justice in the land. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, Jehovah is our righteousness (xxiii. 5, 6). That Name is a watchword of the age to come. It signifies that he is to be the pledge for the realisation of the truth, that Jehovah Himself is at once the standard and the source of His people's righteousness. A righteous ruler will reign over a righteous people, in perfect fellowship with a righteous God.

Elsewhere that King is styled David (xxx. 9). Not that Jeremiah expected David to return in person, like the Arthur of our ancient legend; but, like Hosea, he looked for one of the line of David who should fulfil the ideal of *the man after God's own heart.* That King is to have a mysterious privilege of priestly access to God. *I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto Me: for who is he that hath had boldness to approach unto Me? saith Jehovah* (xxx. 21).

The regenerate city.

(4) The city must be destroyed. But out of its ruins will arise a new city, wherein shall be heard again *the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the voice of them that say, Give thanks to Jehovah of hosts: for Jehovah is good; for His mercy endureth for ever* (xxxiii. 11). The restored city will bear the same name as the righteous King. *In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely;*

and this is the name whereby she shall be called, Jehovah is our righteousness (xxxiii. 16). For city no less than King will be the witness to the truth which constitutes the essence of Redemption, and will be the instrument for translating the truth into visible fact.

The New Covenant.

(5) An apostate people had broken the old covenant made with them at the Exodus (xi. 1 ff.). But Jehovah will make a New Covenant, written not on tables of stone, but on the tables of the heart, an inward, spiritual, everlasting covenant, a covenant of pardon and grace. *This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jehovah: I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jehovah: for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jehovah: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more* (xxxi. 33 f.).

I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear Me for ever; for the good of them, and of their children after them: and I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; and I will put My fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from Me (xxxii. 39 f.).

And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity,

whereby they have sinned against Me; and I will pardon all their iniquities (xxxiii. 8).

The Presence of Jehovah.

(6) The ark had been the most prized palladium of the old order; and the spirituality and glory of the new age could not be more emphatically described than by the prophecy that it would neither have nor need an ark, because Jehovah Himself would be in their midst. His Presence would supersede its symbol. *In those days they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of Jehovah; neither shall it come to mind: neither shall they remember it; neither shall they miss it; neither shall it be made any more. At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Jehovah* (iii. 16 f.).

Personal responsibility.

(7) The people failed to realise their own guilt. They complained that they were being punished for the sins of their forefathers, and impugned the justice of God. But in the new age a deeper sense of individual responsibility will be realised. *In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge* (xxxi. 29 f.). Jeremiah is not abrogating the second commandment. In the very next chapter he expressly quotes it (xxxii. 18). He is not questioning the truth of the solidarity of a family or a nation. There are consequences of their parents' conduct which the children cannot escape. But it is for

their own sins that men are responsible, and for their own sins that they will be punished.

(8) It is an intimate, spiritual fellowship between the repentant, pardoned people and the God who loves them with an indomitable love, in spite of all their perversity, to which Jeremiah looks forward. It is thus summed up: *I will give them an heart to know Me, that I am Jehovah; and they shall be My people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto Me with their whole heart* (xxiv. 7). *Fellowship with God.*

VI

But Jeremiah had an express commission to the nations as well as to Israel. He speaks of a book of prophecies against the nations, some part at least of which is incorporated in the extant Book of Jeremiah (xxv. 13). His message to the nations was in the main, as it was to Israel, a message of judgement. It was an epoch of judgement for the world, and Nebuchadnezzar was the divine agent in its execution. *Lo, I begin to work evil at the city which is called by My name, and should ye be utterly unpunished? Ye shall not be unpunished: for I will call for a sword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith Jehovah of hosts* (xxv. 29; cp. xii. 14 ff.). *Jehovah hath a controversy with the nations; He will plead with all flesh; as for the wicked, He will give them to the sword* (xxv. 31; cp. xlvi. 10; xlvii. 6; xlviii. 10). *The destiny of the nations* *in judgement*

Nebuchadnezzar is Jehovah's servant: into his power He has given the kingdoms of the world, for He as their Creator claims the sovereign right to dispose their destinies. And all the nations must *serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, until the time of his own land come* (xxvii. 5 ff.). But that day will come, a day of retribution for Babylon's heartless violence; and the book of the prophecies against the nations closes with a triumphant vision of vengeance on the great oppressor Babylon, who shall sink, and not rise again.[1]

and redemption.

Yet even in the judgement of the nations there is hope. To Moab, to Ammon, to Elam, a restoration is promised (xlviii. 47; xlix. 6, 39).

And, like his predecessors, Jeremiah foresees the gathering of the nations to Jerusalem, *to the name of Jehovah* (iii. 17). He sees them come from the ends of the earth, disowning their idols, and confessing that Jehovah alone is God (xvi. 19). Israel might even now be the blessing and the boast of the nations according to the patriarchal promise, if it would repent (iv. 2): and in the days to come the nations will no longer teach Israel the worship of their false gods, but themselves learn to serve Jehovah (xii. 16); and ransomed Zion will be the wonder of all the nations of the earth (xxxiii. 9).

[1] While the statement that Jeremiah prophesied the fall of Babylon is not to be questioned (li. 60), it is doubtful whether chaps. l, li, at any rate in their present form, can be from his pen. See Driver's *Introd. to the Lit. of the O.T.*[6] p. 266.

VII

Summary.

Thus in an age of change and convulsion and revolution Jeremiah with unhesitating faith proclaimed the certain progress of the eternal purpose of God. He affirmed that the destruction of the old order was but the prelude to the introduction of a new and nobler order. He declared that the final aim of *the removal of the things that were shaken* was *that the things which cannot be shaken might remain.* In the prophecy of the New Covenant he deepened and spiritualised the idea of the relation of the Church to God, and emphasised the thought of the responsibilities and privileges of the individual. If his picture of the Messianic King and his kingdom is less magnificent than Isaiah's, the true glory of that rule comes into fuller prominence in proportion as the outward splendour falls away; and we make a long step forward towards the idea of that spiritual kingdom which was to be the true fulfilment of the hopes of Israel.

The fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecies.

If, lastly, we ask how Jeremiah's prophecies have been fulfilled, we can point first to the literal restoration of the Jews to their own land. Unlikely enough it must have seemed to human calculation, as men gazed upon the ruined walls of the city and the smoking ashes of the temple, that the greatest glory of temple and city was yet to come. But so it was. And if the feeble band of exiles that returned, and

the struggling community which for centuries hardly held its own against hostile neighbours, seemed but a poor realisation of those glowing pictures of prosperity, what shall we say? On the one hand, did not man's unbelief dwarf and stunt the growth of the divine purpose, so that God *could* not (with reverence be it said) fulfil all His will? All prophecy, as Jeremiah himself repeatedly teaches, is conditional. On the other hand, does not St. Paul caution us against too hastily assuming that God's purposes for Israel as set forth in these prophecies have already received their complete fulfilment? We dare not dogmatise how or when or where, but we still look for the consolation of Israel (Rom. xi. 25 ff.).

But if something may seem to be wanting to the fulfilment of the promises of Israel's restoration, it is surely far otherwise with those other most characteristic prophecies of Jeremiah.

The New Covenant has been established in the spiritual dispensation of the Gospel, in a law written by the Spirit in the hearts of men; and in the new revelation the means of pardon and purification have been provided and made known to man. In the Incarnation God has come to dwell among men in a far more intimate relation than Jeremiah could have anticipated. All and more than all of the essential spirit of the prophecy of the righteous Branch is fulfilled in Christ, the true heir of David's line. In

Him is set forth the deep meaning of the Name, *The* LORD *is our righteousness.* He is priest as well as king, entering into the presence of God with unceasing intercession. To Him all nations are gathered, and His Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all, is the present witness in the world (alas, with what defect and failure!) of the truth which He made known, *The* LORD *is our righteousness.*

Scorn and shame and persecution and ingratitude were the reward of the martyr prophet in his lifetime; but "self-sacrifice was fruitful": fruitful for his own age; for corrupt as were the people as a whole, there must have been a holy seed to whom his prophecies were as life in death: fruitful for all time to come; for he stands for ever as a strong corner-stone in that foundation of the prophets upon which is reared the majestic building of the Catholic Church of Christ.

LECTURE XII

EZEKIEL

The word of Jehovah came unto me, saying, Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel.—EZEKIEL iii. 16, 17.

I

Ezekiel's history.

ELEVEN years before its final destruction in B.C. 586, Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and stripped of all its best and noblest inhabitants. Together with the young king Jehoiachin, and the queen-mother Nehushta, the ruthless conqueror carried away to Babylon *all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.*[1] In the train of exiles which sadly wended its way across the desert to Babylon was a young priest, Ezekiel[2] the son of Buzi, designed

[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 14. See further *vv.* 15, 16, and comp. Jer. xxiv. Ezekiel dates from this captivity, and in ch. xxxiii. 21, xl. 1, expressly speaks of it as *our captivity*.

[2] The name means *God strengtheneth*. Cp. Hezekiah, *Jah strengtheneth*.

by God to be the centre of religious life and hope for the consummation in the land of their banishment.

It must not be supposed that the Jewish exiles in Babylonia were treated as slaves. Such wholesale deportations as that by which Jerusalem was depopulated were the common policy of Oriental conquerors: they were intended to break the spirit of nationality among the conquered peoples, and reduce them to the condition of submissive subjects; but, save for the fact that they were torn from their homes, the victims of this policy were not harshly treated. Lands were assigned them; they were allowed to form settlements with considerable degree of civil and religious liberty was permitted to them. The chiefs probably organized the new community as far as was possible under the altered circumstances; the first beginnings of what afterwards developed into the worship of the synagogue probably appeared.[1] Intercourse with those who had been left behind in Judæa was maintained. Jeremiah was well informed of events which happened in Jerusalem (ch. 2; xxii. 11 ff.). Many of his prophecies were intended to show that those who were still left behind there rather than the exiles

[1] See Ezek. xxxiii. 30; and comp. Jeremiah's advice to the exiles to build houses and plant gardens and marry and multiply in view of the return to their own land; and to seek the welfare of the city to which they had been carried captive and to pray for it (xxix. 4 ff.). Ezekiel refers to the elders in a way which seems to show that official representatives of the people are meant (viii. 1; xx. 1, &c.

Jeremiah wrote letters and sent messages to the exiles in Babylon (Jer. xxix; li. 59). It may even be conjectured that under the pressure of common suffering old jealousies were forgotten, and friendly communications established with such of the Northern Israelites as had remained loyal to their religion and nationality through a century and a quarter of exile.

Ezekiel's home in Babylonia.

At Tell-Abib on the banks of the river Chebar—not to be identified with the Habor (2 Kings xvii. 6) which flows through Mesopotamia, but some tributary of the Euphrates in Babylonia—Ezekiel settled. He was married (xxiv. 18), and had a house of his own (iii. 24; viii. 1; xii. 3; xiv. 1; xx. 1), to which the elders and others resorted to consult the prophet; but scarcely any details of his personal history are recorded except the sudden death of his wife, and his life was probably unmarked by special incident.

Circumstances of his ministry.

No doubt he had been trained for the duties of the priestly office before he left Judaea; but it is doubtful whether he had yet been called to exercise his priestly office in the Temple.[1] Five years after he arrived in Babylonia came his call to the prophetic ministry (B.C. 592); and from that time onward for more than twenty years he was the spiritual centre

[1] If *the thirtieth year*, mentioned in ch. i. 1 in connexion with the prophet's call, could be understood to refer to his age, he would have been twenty-five years old when he went into exile, and probably would not yet have served in the Temple. But it is very doubtful to what the *thirtieth year* refers.

of the community of exiles. His latest prophecy of which the date is recorded was delivered on the first day of the first month of the twenty-seventh year of the Exile (xxix. 17). Even among the exiles chastisement had not borne fruit in repentance and amendment. Some still clung to their old idolatries, which they persisted in regarding as compatible with a nominal allegiance to Jehovah (xiv. 1 ff.; xx. 1 ff.); others were ready to offer a stubborn resistance to the prophet's moral teachings (ii. 3 ff.; iii. 4 ff., 11); others complained that they had been deserted by their God, and declared that they were being punished not for their own sins but for the guilt of their ancestors (xviii. 2, 25; xxxiii. 10, 17, 20; xxxvii. 11). Ezekiel's task was rendered more difficult by the presence of false prophets who buoyed up the hopes of the people with delusive promises of a speedy restoration (Jer. xxix. 8 ff., 15, 21 ff.). But though at first perhaps his message was slighted, and possibly he was actually persecuted, he came to be looked up to, and recognised as the prophet of the community in which he lived; it grew to be the fashion to consult him, and even those who had no mind to obey his exhortations would go and listen eagerly to his discourse (xxiii. 20 ff.).

Novelty of his position

Thus Ezekiel occupied an entirely new position as the prophet of Jehovah in a foreign country, far removed from the old centre of national life and worship, and all that had been regarded as constituting

the distinctive privileges of Israel among the nations of the world.

affecting the character

This new position largely moulded the character of his ministry. In the land of exile, at a distance from the scene of action, remote from the feverish turmoil, the restless hopes and fears, which agitated Jerusalem during the last ten years of its existence, he could more dispassionately survey the great catastrophe which was impending, and more calmly reflect upon its meaning and its purpose.

and the method of his work.

Hitherto public discourse had been the principal method of prophetic ministry. Jeremiah preached for years before he committed any of his prophecies to writing: but now, under the changed circumstances of his position, the prophet must turn author. It is significant that *a roll of a book* is given him as the symbol of his commission (ii. 9 ff.). Ezekiel's prophecies bear evidence of long meditation and careful elaboration. Originally he may have spoken the substance of them to his little band of hearers, for he tells us how at one time it was the fashion to come and listen to him (xxxiii. 31 ff.), and how they complained that he was *a speaker of parables* (xx. 49); but they were intended for Judaea as well as Babylonia, and he bestowed careful attention on their literary form as he committed them to writing. He dwells upon his subject, and expands and develops his thoughts, in contrast to the terse, sharp utterances of the older prophets. Not content with an outline, he

fills in the details of the picture, sometimes to the detriment of its distinctness.

Visions, allegories, parables, symbolic actions, are marked characteristics of the form of Ezekiel's teaching. They may correspond to the prophet's temperament, to a naturally imaginative cast of mind. God makes use of the natural gifts of His servants. These shape, to some extent at least, the form which their communications take. But there is no ground for regarding Ezekiel's visions as merely a literary artifice, as nothing more than the form in which he chose to clothe his message. On several occasions, we are told, *the hand of Jehovah was upon him;* in other words, he was the subject of an overpowering divine influence, and fell into a kind of prophetic trance or ecstasy. This was the case when he saw the vision of the glory of Jehovah which was the prelude to his call (i. 3; cp. iii. 14, 22). It was the case when he saw the vision of the shameless iniquities committed in the very Temple, by which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were banishing the presence of Jehovah from its precincts (viii. 1 ff.). It was the case again, when he beheld the vision of the dry bones brought to life by the inspiration of the breath of God, to teach the desponding Israelites that life could be restored even to the dry and scattered fragments of the nation (xxxvii. 1 ff.). It was the case once more, when he saw rising before him a glorious picture of the restored sanctuary, in

His visions.

which Jehovah would once more vouchsafe to dwell in the midst of a purified people (xl. 1). But while we maintain that these visions were really and supernaturally presented to the prophet's mental eye, we may admit that it is possible that they received some elaboration in detail as he pondered over them before committing his description of them to writing. No doubt the details of the picture were all significant to his own mind, though we may not be able to interpret them with certainty.

Allegories and parables.

Allegory and parable he employs not only in predictions of the future, but in descriptions of the past and the present. Israel is the foundling child, faithless to the preserver who has made her his wife (xvi. 1 ff.). She is the lioness, which rears her whelps only to become the hunter's prey (xix. 1 ff.); the stately cedar (xvii. 3); the vine which is doomed to be destroyed (xix. 10 ff.; cp. xv. 1 ff.; xvii. 6). Nebuchadnezzar is described as one great eagle, the king of Egypt as another (xvii. 3, 7); Tyre is a stately ship (xxvii. 5 ff.); Egypt a monstrous crocodile (xxxii. 2 ff.). Sometimes, as in ch. xvii, the parable is worked out in detail, and subsequently explained.

Symbolic actions.

Frequently Ezekiel's teaching is presented in the form of symbolic actions. It is much disputed whether these actions were literally performed, or whether they are only introduced as a vehicle for

the ideas which he wished to convey. It is urged, for example, that such signs as the mimic siege of Jerusalem (iv. 1 ff.), or the burning and smiting and scattering of the hair (v. 1 ff.), would have been puerile, and cannot be supposed to have been actually performed. Unquestionably, however, prophets did frequently make use of symbolic actions. Jeremiah actually put a yoke on his own neck, which Hananiah took off and broke (Jer. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 10). He broke the potter's earthen bottle in the presence of the elders (Jer. xix. 1 ff.). We are not in a position easily to estimate how far actions which may seem to us puerile, would have been considered puerile by the Oriental mind in those early times. The very strangeness, and it may be even the foolishness, of a sign, may have served to attract the attention of those who would have been indifferent to the prophet's words (Ezek. xii. 2 ff.). They were a graphic and forcible way of expressing the message which he was charged to deliver. The prophet's whole life and person and family relations must all be subservient to his ministry; he must live for his work; he must suffer that he might teach.

Repeated claim of divine authority for his message.

It was not unnatural that the prophet who was removed from Jehovah's land, and was working under new conditions in the midst of heathenism, should lay special stress on his divine commission. The frequency with which he repeats his authority

for his message[1] is no idle iteration of a meaningless formula, but an encouraging reminder to his hearers that even in the days of their punishment Jehovah had not ceased to care for His people.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel compared.

Nothing illustrates the position occupied by Ezekiel so well as a comparison of him with his contemporary Jeremiah. Ezekiel was in all probability personally acquainted with Jeremiah: certainly he was familiar with his teaching and his writings. During his youth Jeremiah must have been one of the most conspicuous figures in Jerusalem. His narrow escapes from a violent death in the early years of Jehoiakim's reign must have been notorious. Jeremiah and Ezekiel were both priests; but in almost every other respect they present a striking contrast. Jeremiah was labouring in full sight of the death throes of the city and nation, watching each stage of the dissolution which he could neither avert nor retard, stigmatised as a traitor to his country, despised and persecuted by the civil, military, and religious authorities of the city. Ezekiel in his banishment was at least spared the bitterness of actually witnessing from day to day the folly and the sin which were filling up the measure of Jerusalem's guilt, though he knew of them by report, and denounced them from a distance. The exiles among whom he lived for the

[1] The formula, *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah*, alone is said to occur 117 times.

most part abstained from any actual persecution, and even honoured him as the prophet of Jehovah.

Jeremiah in the presence of a corrupt worship and a polluted Temple must needs denounce the old order and declare the necessity for its destruction. Ezekiel in a foreign land could predict the restoration of Temple and worship in a new and purified form.

Jeremiah was the man of feeling and action, Ezekiel of reason and reflection. Jeremiah's book is pervaded by an intense personality. We feel that we know him, and sympathise with his living martyrdom. Ezekiel is little more to us than a name. We do not grasp him or his surroundings, or feel the throbbing pulses of his life beating in his utterances. His work is carried on in a calm equanimity, not in a stress and struggle which were almost more than frail humanity could bear.

Different as were the positions and the temperaments of the two prophets, for a while their tasks lay side by side; but Ezekiel carries on his work to a further point. He is characteristically the prophet not only of the downfall of Jerusalem, but of the exile in Babylon.

II

The Book of Ezekiel.

Ezekiel's book is his own record of his prophetic work. While it is tolerably certain that the Book of Jeremiah was compiled gradually, and only

brought to its present form by some of his disciples after his death, the Book of Ezekiel bears the marks of careful plan and arrangement, and comes to us in all probability direct from the prophet himself. He speaks throughout in the first person: his name is only twice mentioned (i. 3; xxiv. 24).

The book falls into three distinct divisions, corresponding to three periods of his ministry:

(i.) Chaps. i-xxiv contain the prophecies of a period of four and a half years from the prophet's call in the fifth year of his exile (B.C. 592) to the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year (B.C. 588).

(ii.) The last division of the book consists of two sections:—(*a*) prophecies delivered at or shortly after the time when the messenger who had escaped from the capture of Jerusalem reached him[1] (chaps. xxxiii-xxxix); and (*b*) the vision of the constitution of the restored community (chaps. xl-xlviii), dated in the twenty-fifth year of his exile (B.C. 572), almost at the close of his ministry.[2]

(iii.) These two divisions are separated by a collection of prophecies concerning the nations, chaps. xxv-xxxii, delivered partly, though not altogether, in the intervals during which he had no

[1] For "*twelfth* year" in xxxiii. 21 should probably be read *eleventh*. It is improbable that the fugitive would have taken eighteen months to reach Babylon.

[2] The latest date mentioned is that assigned to ch. xxix. 17-21, viz. B.C. 570.

message for Judah, while the siege of Jerusalem was in progress.[1]

In the first of these divisions the prophet surveys the present. By symbol and figure and discourse he enforces the inevitable certainty and the moral necessity of the judgement impending over Jerusalem. Here and there a gleam of light pierces the darkness; but the prophet must pull down before he can build; he must destroy false hopes before he can hold out true ones.

In the last division he looks forward to the future. The blow has fallen: Jerusalem and the Temple are in ashes; the people are in exile. No less confidently than he had predicted the ruin of the city and the dispersion of the people, does he foretell the restoration of the people to their own land and the rebuilding of the Temple and the city.

The judgements on the nations which occupy the middle division of the book, form the transition from the one to the other. Judgement had begun at the house of God, and should it spare the nations? Nay, their malicious triumph at the fall of Jehovah's people was an insult to Jehovah Himself: they must give place in their turn to His kingdom, and be compelled to acknowledge His sovereignty.

[1] Prof. A. B. Davidson prefers to consider the book as consisting of *two* equal parts, i-xxiv and xxv-xlviii; the judgements upon the nations, which occupy chaps. xxv-xxxii, being regarded as the prelude to the restoration of Israel.

III

Importance of Ezekiel's work for his own age

It is not difficult to see the particular importance of Ezekiel's work for his own age in the successive periods of his ministry. That ministry, it must be remembered, had for its object the whole nation. It is in fact sometimes difficult to decide whether he is addressing the exiles around him in Babylon or those who were still left in Jerusalem.

in destroying false hopes

So long as the city was still standing, the exiles in Babylon, not less than the people who remained in Jerusalem, were foolishly cherishing delusive hopes, which needed shattering with no gentle hand. The expectations of the exiles were, as we have seen, buoyed up by the utterances of the false prophets who promised them a speedy return. Ezekiel and Jeremiah united in pronouncing these expectations to be wholly illusory (Ezek. xiii; Jer. xxix). Misled by similar false teachings, the inhabitants of Jerusalem persuaded themselves into a comfortable security that they had nothing more to fear from the Chaldeans (Jer. xxviii). There was a party in Judaea who despised the exiles, questioned their right to claim a share in national privileges, and boasted of their own superior position (Ezek. xi. 15).

Under these circumstances the prophecies contained in the first division of the book are of necessity, in the main, of a gloomy and threatening character. Yet here and there rays of light break through the

clouds. Just when the contemptuous sneers of the dwellers in Jerusalem were reported to the exiles, the hope of restoration to their own land is held out, coupled with the promise of a new heart and regenerate will, which would enable them to keep the commandments which they had hitherto broken (xi. 16 ff.). Just when the heaviest indictment for perfidious ingratitude has been entered against Israel, and the survey of the nation's history has proved it worthy of the severest judgements, the renewal of an everlasting covenant is foretold, and judgement is shewn to have mercy as its final purpose (xvi. 59 ff.; xx. 36 ff.). Just when the cedar of the house of David is doomed to be plucked up by the roots, Ezekiel announces the divine purpose to take from the topmost of his young twigs a tender one, and plant it in the high mountain of Israel (xvii. 22 ff.). Just when the crown is torn from the unworthy brows of the prince of Israel, the hint is given that it is reserved for One *whose right it is* (xxi. 25 ff.).

When once the city had fallen, and the nation had for the time ceased to exist, there was grave danger lest the exiles should fall into despair and apathy, either sullenly murmuring at the injustice of their fate or contemptuously acquiescing in their present lot. *Our transgressions and our sins are upon us,* said some of them, *and we are wasting away in them: how then can we live?* (xxxiii. 10). *The way of Jehovah is not equal,* murmured others, who alleged that they

were being punished for the sins of previous generations (xxxiii. 17; cp. xviii. 25). *Our hope is lost: we are clean cut off*, sighed others, who abandoned themselves to faithless despair (xxxvii. 11).

in awakening true hopes.

Then it was that Ezekiel bent all his energies to awaken and cherish the hope of restoration. God's purpose, he proclaimed, was not to destroy, but to reform. *As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* (xxxiii. 11).

The leaders and rulers of the nation had abused their trust. Jehovah's sheep were scattered and forlorn. But He Himself will search for His sheep and will seek them out. He will gather them from the countries, and bring them back into their own land. There He will set up one shepherd over them, even His servant David. They will be ruled by the ideal king, the man after God's own heart. The true mutual relation between Jehovah and His people will be realised (ch. xxxiv).

The holy land lay desolate, abandoned to maliciously exulting enemies who said, *Aha! the ancient high places are become our possession* (xxxvi. 2). But Jehovah will judge the nations. He will restore and marvellously augment the fertility of the land. He will multiply its inhabitants. When He restores His people to their land He will regenerate them by an

act of pure grace, cleansing them from their sins, endowing them with a new nature, implanting in them a spirit of willing obedience (ch. xxxvi).

The nation, as a nation, had ceased to exist. Nothing short of a miracle could recall it to life. But that miracle will be wrought. The dry bones scattered about in the open valley will feel the quickening power of the Spirit of God, and be recalled to life. The severed peoples will be reunited into one. The reunited nation will have one king, Jehovah's servant David. He will confirm an eternal covenant of peace with them. His sanctuary will be in the midst of them for evermore (ch. xxxvii).

The Temple was in ashes, worship was suspended, the land was desolate; but Jehovah had only abandoned His land and His sanctuary for a little time. A nobler Temple and a purer worship will be called into existence, answering to an ideal which had never yet been realised; Jehovah will return to dwell in the midst of His regenerate people; a life-giving stream will issue from the Temple and fertilise the desert; the curse of barrenness will be removed (chaps. xl-xlviii).

The future of the nations.

Ezekiel's eschatology is almost entirely concerned with Israel. He does not, like Isaiah and Micah, picture the nations streaming up to the restored Jerusalem to receive instruction; or, like the great prophet of the Exile, describe Zion's oppressors

coming to pay her homage and to worship her God. His visions of the future of the nations are, in the main, visions of judgement. Gog and his hosts pour down from the remotest north, and, joining with the peoples of the distant south, threaten the restored Jerusalem with destruction. The powers of the world muster their forces for one stupendous final effort to destroy the kingdom of God, only to meet with complete and ignominious discomfiture. Through this and through other judgements *the nations,* we are told repeatedly, *shall know that I am Jehovah;* they shall recognise that Jehovah is what He claims to be in relation to Israel and to the world. But there are only hints, few and obscure, of a conversion of the nations. Sodom and Samaria, the one the type of heinous and defiant sin, the other of self-willed separation, will share Israel's restoration, for their guilt is less than hers (xvi. 53 ff.). The goodly cedar which will spring from the tender twig taken from the other cedar which is to be rooted up, will shelter in its branches all fowl of every kind; in other words, all nations will resort to the Messianic kingdom for protection (xvii. 22 ff.). But though these hints of a larger hope are given, they are not developed. It is to Israel's future restoration that Ezekiel's outlook is almost exclusively directed.

IV

Fundamental principles of Ezekiel's teaching:—(1) The Glory of Jehovah.

The fundamental principle and inspiring motive of Ezekiel's teaching was the glory of God. God's glory is the Old Testament expression for the revealed Presence of God among His people. His glory corresponds to His Name, which is the summary of His Nature, so far as He has made it known to man.

The vision by the river Chebar, which formed the prelude to Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office, was *the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Jehovah* (i. 28). That complex and mysterious vision symbolised the divine omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience. It represented the manifold and unceasing activity of Jehovah's power in the world. It was the key to the ministry of the exiled prophet, that the glory of God could be manifested in the plains of Babylon as truly as on the mountains of Judaea. He saw it again in the plains of Babylon (iii. 23). In a trance he beheld it in the Temple, outraged by the abominations which were done in its very presence (viii. 4 ff.). He beheld it leaving its accustomed place as the sentence went forth to destroy the guilty city (ix. 3; x. 4), and finally quitting the polluted place which was no longer fit for its abode (x. 18, 19; xi. 22, 23).

Again in vision he saw that glory return to the

restored city and Temple; once more *the glory of Jehovah filled the house,* and he heard the voice which proclaimed, *This is the place of My throne . . . where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever* (xliii. 2-7; xliv. 4).

This ever-present sense of the glory of God finds its counterpart in the title by which Ezekiel is taught to speak of himself. Before that divine Presence he feels the frailty of his own humanity: he is the *son of man;* the weak mortal descendant of mortal earth-born flesh.

(2) *The Name of Jehovah.*

Jehovah's Name is the correlative of His glory. All His dealings with Israel have been and are and will be *for His Name's sake.* They are designed to manifest His one unchangeable Nature. Israel had merited nothing but destruction in the wilderness, but He spared them for His Name's sake, *that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations* (xx. 9, 14, 22). So now it is not for any merit on Israel's part that they will be recalled from exile, but for Jehovah's Name's sake. *I do not this for your sake, O house of Israel, but for Mine holy Name* (xxxvi. 22). The judgement of the nations and the redemption of Israel are both a sovereign exercise of divine grace in accordance with the immutable character of the divine Nature.

(3) *The holiness of Jehovah.*

Closely connected with the conceptions of the Glory and the Name of Jehovah is the conception of His holiness. His holiness is His essential

Deity.[1] It has been profaned by the exile of His people. He has been forced to let Himself appear in the sight of the nations as though He were unable or unwilling to protect His people. Thus, when He restores Israel, He will demonstrate the holiness of His great Name, which has been profaned among the nations. As Israel had been the guilty cause of its profanation, so it will be made the instrument of its sanctification. *The nations shall know that I am Jehovah, saith the Lord Jehovah, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes* (xxxvi. 23; cp. xx. 41; xxviii. 25; xxxix. 27). In the judgement of the nations, moreover, not less than in the restoration of Israel, will His sovereign Deity be exhibited. Thus it is said of the destruction of Gog: *I will magnify Myself, and sanctify Myself, and I will make Myself known in the eyes of many nations; and they shall know that I am Jehovah* (xxxviii. 23; cp. *v.* 16 and xxviii. 22).

Ezekiel emphasises individual responsibility.

Such were the fundamental principles of Ezekiel's theology. Some further characteristic elements of his teaching remain to be considered.

The doctrine of individual responsibility had been taught by Jeremiah (Jer. xxxi. 29, 30), but Ezekiel repeats it with an emphasis which is peculiarly his own. Men were complaining that they were being punished for the sins of their ancestors; and he meets their complaint by affirming the principle that

[1] See above, pp. 175 ff.

the soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him (xviii. 20). On the other hand, the presence of the righteous cannot avail to deliver a land in the day of its transgression. *Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should but deliver their own souls by their righteousness* (xiv. 14).

The sense of personal responsibility in his own work weighed heavily on the prophet's own mind: and the nature and limits of that responsibility were made clear to him at the outset of his mission, and again at the commencement of the second period of his work. He was shewn that while he was responsible for the faithful proclamation of his message, he was not responsible for its success or failure (iii. 16 ff.; xxxiii. 1 ff.).

Importance attached to ceremonial

We cannot fail to be struck with the attitude of Ezekiel towards the ceremonial side of religion. True, he was a priest, and by training and associations he might be expected to have a sympathetic feeling for the Temple and its ritual; still he emphasises the importance of ceremonial in a way which is new to prophecy. Nor is the reason far to seek. So long as the Temple was standing, and the chief danger was lest men should trust in outward forms, the efforts of prophecy were directed to the condemnation of externalism and

the interpretation and spiritualisation of ceremonial ordinances.

But when the Temple had fallen, and the regular worship of Jehovah had ceased, prophecy must needs foretell the re-erection of the Temple and the restoration of the forms of worship. Religion must of necessity find some outward expression; and as we shall see when we come to consider the work of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the Temple was the indispensable centre and rallying point for Israel in the period of the Restoration. It was the focus of their religious life, the visible pledge and witness to Jehovah's Presence among His people, when all outward tokens of national power and greatness had passed away.

does not exclude ethical interest or spiritual religion.

But it is a strange perverseness which has led some critics to charge Ezekiel with caring for nothing but the externals of religion; of having, as one writer sarcastically says, "the merit of having transformed the ideals of the prophets into laws and dogmas, and destroyed spiritually free and moral religion."[1]

Nothing can be more unfair than such an assertion. In common with his predecessors, he explicitly condemns the prevalent sins of idolatry, injustice, oppression, impurity, and the like, and insists upon the practice of the opposite virtues (ch. xviii).

But he goes much further and deeper than this.

[1] Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 263.

The restoration of Israel which he predicts is not merely an outward restoration of the exiles to their own land. It is to be accompanied by a spiritual change wrought by the mighty grace of God. *I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean. . . . A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgements and do them* (xxxvi. 25 ff.; cp. xi. 19, 20).

This regeneration of the restored Israel will be a pure act of divine grace. So and not otherwise can the mighty change be effected. But Ezekiel lays equal stress upon man's freedom to choose, upon his need of repentance and purpose of amendment: *Return ye, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions. . . . Cast away from you all your transgressions, wherein ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* (xviii. 30, 31).

This is not the language of a petrified legalism, which expects salvation by its own works, but of absolute and utter dependence on the renewing grace of God, balanced by the recognition of the freedom of the human will and personal responsibility.

The vision of the restored Temple and re-established worship, with its wealth of elaborate detail, might seem at first sight to lend some countenance to

the view that Ezekiel loved form for form's sake. But it must be remembered that the great moral change is presumed to have been already wrought. The people have been regenerated. The Temple is the earthly abode of Jehovah Who returns to dwell in the midst of His people. The ritual is their expression of devotion to His service. It is their safeguard against relapsing once more into idolatry. No doubt Ezekiel's thoughts move in a limited circle. He expresses the perfected relation of Jehovah and His people in the terms of what is familiar to him.

The times needed a definite promise that the outward ordinances which were then the necessary support and expression of religion would be once more restored; but it is a shallow judgement which supposes that Ezekiel regards forms and ordinances as constituting the whole essence of religion.

The fulfilment.

It is not perhaps very profitable to attempt to inquire how far Ezekiel looked for a literal fulfilment of his vision of the future, or how far he regarded it simply as an embodiment of spiritual ideas. But in less than half a century from the close of his ministry his prophecies began to be fulfilled. Unlikely as it must have seemed to human calculation, hopeless as it appeared to many of the exiles, the Israelites were restored to their own land, the Temple was rebuilt, the worship of Jehovah was re-established.

But this was but the beginning of a fulfilment.

Those promises of cleansing and forgiveness and spiritual renewal point forward to the revelation of the Incarnation and the atonement, and the dispensation of the Spirit under which we live. They are being fulfilled in us and for us.

The name of the city shall be JEHOVAH-SHAMMAH—"Jehovah is there"; so the closing words of the prophecy summarise the attainment of God's purpose for Israel in the perfected realisation of the covenant between Himself and His people. The seer of Patmos beheld Ezekiel's vision expanding with a larger glory, and *heard a great voice out of the throne saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His peoples, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God.*

THE PROPHET OF THE EXILE

ISAIAH XL–LXVI

μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται σοφία,
καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει,
καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα
φίλους Θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει.

And Wisdom, being one, hath power to do all things;
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things:
And from generation to generation passing into holy souls
She maketh men friends of God and prophets.

The Wisdom of Solomon.

LECTURE XIII

ISAIAH OF THE EXILE

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people. . . . In the wilderness prepare ye the way of Jehovah. . . . The glory of Jehovah shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.—ISAIAH xl. 1, 3, 5.

I

Internal evidence of the date of Isaiah xl-lxvi.

IF the great prophecy of Israel's redemption and glorification now included in the Book of Isaiah had come down to us as an independent and anonymous document, no reasonable doubt could have been entertained as to the time at which it was written. Internal evidence would be regarded as fixing its date with remarkable precision towards the close of the Babylonian Exile.

Israel in exile.

Israel is in exile. Jehovah has surrendered His people to their enemies. They are suffering the punishment of their sins. They are being tried in the furnace of affliction. Jerusalem has drunk to the dregs the cup of Jehovah's fury. The daughter of Zion lies prostrate in the dust as a mourner; the chains of her captivity are about her neck. The

mother city of Zion is a barren exile, bereaved of her children, and wandering to and fro. Her children are scattered from their home. Jehovah's wife is divorced from Him, and her children are sold into slavery for their iniquities.[1]

Jerusalem in ruins.

Jerusalem itself is in ruins; the cities of Judah are deserted; the land is desolate; the Temple is a heap of ashes. The situation is summed up in the pathetic words: *Thy holy cities are become a wilderness, Zion is become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste* (lxiv. 10, 11).

Babylon the place of exile,

Babylon is the scene of Israel's captivity. Babylon is the oppressor who holds Zion's children in thrall. Babylon has been the agent in executing Jehovah's judgement, and she has performed her task with a malicious pleasure.[2]

which has already lasted long,

The exile has already lasted long. It seems to have become permanent. Zion fancies herself forgotten and forsaken. Jehovah sleeps. His wonderful works of old time are a memory and a tradition only. Deliverance from the tyrant's iron grasp seems hopeless. The centuries during which Israel possessed its land are fading into a mere moment in the remoteness of the past. The weary decades of exile are lengthening out into an eternity of punish-

[1] See xlii. 22-25; xlviii. 10; xlix. 21; l. 1; li. 17; lii. 2, 3; etc.

[2] See xliii. 14; xlviii. 14, 20; xlvii. 6.

ment. Faith and hope are strained to the point of breaking.[1]

But deliverance is at hand. Jerusalem's servitude is accomplished; satisfaction has been made for her iniquity. The decree has gone forth for pardon, redemption, restoration.[2] *but is soon to end.*

The deliverer is on his way. Cyrus is already in full career of conquest. Babylon is doomed. The proud oppressor is on the point of being humbled. Her gods themselves are going helplessly into captivity. In fulfilment of prophecy the exiles will be set free. They will be sent back to rebuild Jerusalem and restore the Temple. Jehovah will lead His people through the wilderness to their ancient home in a second exodus, which, as Jeremiah predicted (xvi. 14 ff.), will eclipse the glories of the first. The desolate widow will be consoled. Zion's scattered children will be gathered. Her persecutors will pay her homage. Glorious with the revelation of Jehovah's glory, Jerusalem will become the centre of universal worship. Israel will fulfil its mission and unite all nations in a willing allegiance to Jehovah.[3]

The circumstances are those of the closing years

[1] See lviii. 12; lxi. 4 (*ancient* ruins); lxiv. 5, 6 (R.V.; but the text is doubtful and perhaps corrupt); xl. 27; xlix. 14 ff.; li. 9.

[2] See xl. 1, 2; xli. 27; xliii. 1; xliv. 21 ff., 24 ff.; lii. 7 ff.; lvii. 17 ff., etc.

[3] See xliii. 14; xlv. 1 ff., 13; xlvi. 1 ff.; xlviii. 14; xl. 3, 4, 9 ff.; xliii. 19 ff.; xliv. 26 ff.; xliii. 5; li. 9 ff.; liv. 1 ff.; lx. 14; lx. 1 ff.; lxv. 18, 19, etc.

Date of the prophecy about B.C. *546–540.*

of the Babylonian Exile. But the date can be fixed even more precisely. Cyrus, according to the commonly received account, succeeded to the throne of Persia in B.C. 558. Recent discoveries, however, appear to shew that he was not originally king of Persia, but of Anzan or Elam.[1] However this may have been, in B.C. 549 he conquered Astyages, and victors and vanquished united to form the powerful Medo-Persian empire. The conquest of Lydia and the capture of Sardis followed in B.C. 546. Eight years later came the decisive struggle against the Babylonian empire. Babylon fell in B.C. 538.

At the time when the prophecy opens Cyrus is in full career of victory. The double account of his origin *from the east* and *from the north* (xli. 2, 25) seems to be a definite allusion to the union of the Persians with the Medes under his sovereignty. But further, the *isles* or coast lands are described as trembling before him (xli. 5), so that apparently he

[1] Recently deciphered inscriptions are said to "cast a new and revolutionary light on the character and nationality of Cyrus, as well as on his conquest of Babylon. Cyrus and his ancestors are shewn in them to have been kings of Anzan or Ansan, not of Persia, he and his son Cambyses, so far from being Zoroastrian iconoclasts, conform to the worship and ritual of Babylonia, and Babylon surrenders to the invader 'without fighting' instead of undergoing the horrors of a siege." Anzan was "the mountainous region in the east of Babylonia, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Elam, with its capital Susa." The conquest of Astyages took place in B.C. 549, but Cyrus does not receive the title of king of Persia until B.C. 546. Apparently therefore he only obtained possession of Persia in the interval. See Sayce in *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v, pp. 144 ff.

was already engaged in his campaigns in the west of Asia Minor. On the other hand, Babylon is still standing in all her pride and careless security, unconscious of her impending doom.

Accordingly the extreme limits for the date of the first division of the prophecy (chaps. xl-xlviii) are the years 549 and 538, and while it is not probable that it was earlier than 546, it can hardly have been much later. For though the latest prophecies in the book, with the possible exception of parts of ch. lxvi, are still prior to the fall of Babylon, we may detect a tone of disappointment in some of them, as though some considerable interval had elapsed since the first proclamation of deliverance, without the glorious hopes which it held out having been realised.

Babylonia the place of writing.

The place of writing can hardly have been other than Babylonia. The prophet speaks in the presence of a dominant heathenism. Idolatry in all its grossness and folly surrounds him. He has watched the infatuated idolaters carrying their helpless gods in solemn procession; he has seen these contemptible deities manufactured, and set up in the temples; he has watched their besotted worshippers at their vain devotions.[1] All this points naturally to Babylonia; and when we find the prophet in closest touch and sympathy with the exiles there; when we observe how fully acquainted he is with their circumstances,

[1] xl. 18 ff.; xli. 21 ff.; xliv. 9 ff.; xlv. 20; xlvi. 1 f., 5 ff.

their character, their sins, their hopes, their fears, the impression is confirmed; and when we note how the prophet unites himself with those exiles in confession, thanksgiving, and earnest pleading,[1] we can scarcely doubt that he was himself one of them.

It has indeed been urged that the author shews more acquaintance with Palestine than with Babylonia. But we should not expect him to introduce details about his surroundings in Babylon, other than those which bore upon his immediate purpose, such, for example, as the descriptions of idolatry; while the allusions to Palestine are perfectly natural for one whose heart was constantly there. They are such as he might easily have derived from the study of the older prophetic literature with which his mind was steeped, and from conversation with those who had been carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar. Many of them no doubt still survived; every detail of Palestinian scenery would be printed in their memories; and they would find a sad pleasure in recalling every feature of their lost home.

The author not Isaiah.

It follows that if this prophecy was written in the last decennium of the Exile, by a prophet living among the exiles in Babylonia, its author cannot have been Isaiah the son of Amoz, the contemporary of Hezekiah. It is no "*a priori* assumption of the impossibility of prophecy" which compels this con-

[1] Note the use of the first person plural in xlii. 24; lix. 9-12; lxiii. 7, 16 ff.; lxiv. 1 ff.

clusion, but a simple induction from the contents of the book. The Babylonian Exile is not predicted; it is described as an existing fact.[1] The rise of Cyrus is not foretold; he is already triumphantly advancing from point to point. What is predicted is the deliverance of the exiles and their restoration to Palestine. Now while it is *conceivable* that Isaiah might have been transferred in spirit to a future age, and, taking his stand in the midst of the tribulations which he foresaw were to come, might have predicted the deliverance which was to follow, such a hypothesis does not seem to be in accordance with the economy of revelation. We have repeatedly had occasion to observe the *circumstantial* origin of prophecy; to remark that the teaching of one prophet after another was designed to meet the needs of his own age; to note how it arose directly out of those needs. Here, on the other hand, we should have an example of a prophecy entirely disconnected from the events of the author's time. It seems far easier to suppose that, under circumstances which we can only conjecture, it was annexed to the collection which bears Isaiah's name although it was not written till a century and a half after his death, than that it forms so startling an exception to the general principles by which prophecy was governed.

[1] A comparison of the prophecies in which Jeremiah predicts the restoration from the Babylonian Exile will shew the force of this argument. In these the Exile is *foretold*, not assumed. See Jer. xxxi-xxxiii.

The preceding argument corroborated by the arguments:—(1) from style and language,

Not only however does this prophecy contain positive indications of its date, which if it had not been attached to the Book of Isaiah could not have been mistaken, but it is distinguished from the acknowledged writings of Isaiah by its style, its language, and its theological ideas. The terse, compact, forcible oratory of Isaiah is replaced by a measured though impassioned eloquence; the vigorous rhetoric of action by the pathetic pleading of suffering. Careful examination shews that a considerable number of words and phrases characteristic of Isaiah are entirely absent from these chapters, or occur in them but rarely; and conversely, that a considerable number of words and phrases occur in these chapters which are not to be found in the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah; while not a few words and phrases which occur once or twice in Isaiah without any special force are used here in a distinct and specific sense.[1]

(2) from theological ideas.

Further, the prominent theological ideas of the prophecy differ widely from those of Isaiah. This will appear in detail from the study of the contents of the book: here it may suffice to point out one or two of the most striking differences. The Messianic King of the stock of Jesse, so conspicuous in Isaiah's

[1] See Driver's *Isaiah*, pp. 192 ff., for the best statement of this argument. "In carefully weighing the material collected in these lists," writes Delitzsch in the last edition of his *Isaiah* (1889), "one is surprised at the number of phenomena telling against the unity of authorship" (vol. ii, p. 128, E.T.).

teaching, is nowhere mentioned.[1] Jehovah is the only King in the restored Theocracy (lii. 7). The significance of Israel as Jehovah's Servant in relation to His universal purpose for the world, and the unique portraiture in which the conception of the Servant culminates, find no parallel in Isaiah. The new and eternal covenant of mercy which Jehovah makes with His people in the restoration is never alluded to by Isaiah.[2] The contrast between Jehovah, the absolute and only God, and the false gods which are nothing but material idols, is developed in a wholly new way.

It may indeed be freely admitted that style and language change with advancing years, and that we have no right to fix limits to the extent of the insight and foresight which might have been granted to Isaiah in his later years, when he had withdrawn from public life and in an undisturbed seclusion pondered on the ulterior purposes of God for His people. It may be freely admitted that, by the side of remarkable differences, there is much in these prophecies which reflects the language and the teaching of Isaiah; for example, the characteristic title of Jehovah, *The Holy One of Israel;* and that the germs of much which here attains its full growth and development are to be found already in the writings of the

[1] Unless indeed ch. lv. 3, 4 refers to him. Even if it does, the difference is remarkable.

[2] Cp. on the other hand Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.; xxxii. 40; Ezek. xvi. 60 ff.; xxxvii. 26.

son of Amoz; but these resemblances cannot be regarded as sufficient to establish identity of authorship. Rather they may be taken to indicate that this Book of Consolation is the work of a disciple of Isaiah, upon whom a double portion of his master's spirit rested, and in whom he lived and spoke to another generation according to their particular needs. But this prophet speaks as one who has been disciplined and enlightened by the unparalleled crisis of national suffering which had happened in the interval. In the historical development of Old Testament revelation the Exile and no earlier period is the true place for this prophecy.[1]

Internal evidence must outweigh tradition.

We have then to balance the whole weight of the combined arguments from the clear and definite indications of the circumstances under which the work was written, from the marked peculiarities of its style and language, and from the distinctive characteristics of its teaching, against the single fact that it has been handed down by the tradition of the Jewish Church as a part of the Book of Isaiah. Undoubtedly this tradition comes down from ancient times. Jesus the son of Sirach found it in its present position at the beginning of the second century B.C., and naturally regarded Isaiah as its author.[2] In the New Testament the accepted tradition is of course followed, and these chapters are referred to and quoted

[1] Cp. Delitzsch's *Isaiah*, ii. 132 (E.T.).

[2] *Ecclus.* xlviii. 24, 25.

as Isaiah. But this tradition cannot counterbalance the overwhelming weight of internal evidence. It may be thought surprising that the name of one of the greatest of Israel's prophets should have fallen into irrevocable oblivion, but it is not more surprising than that there is not the faintest clue to the name of the greatest of Israel's poet-thinkers, the author of the Book of Job. But here as in other cases the individuality of the prophet who was charged with a divine commission seems to have been regarded as of comparatively little importance. The messenger was lost sight of in the message; nay, the more divinely wonderful the message, the less it mattered for posterity to know from what human lips or pen it came.

Why this prophecy was attached to the Book of Isaiah instead of being preserved as an independent book must remain an unsolved enigma.[1] We know nothing of the circumstances under which the prophetic writings were finally collected into their present form. We have already (p. 148) seen reason to believe that the earlier part of the Book of Isaiah

[1] A partial explanation may be found in the form of ancient books. The prophecy was annexed to Isaiah i-xxxix, in order to form a volume approximately equal in size to those of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets. If it was anonymous, it would soon come to be ascribed to Isaiah. "Every one who has handled Eastern manuscripts knows that scribes constantly copy out several works into one volume without taking the precautions necessary to prevent an anonymous piece from being ascribed to the author of the work to which it is attached."—Robertson Smith, *O.T. in Jewish Church* (ed. 2), p. 100. But the reasons suggested above probably had some influence in determining its position.

contains discourses or writings of his disciples. A true instinct may have felt that the right place for the prophecies of the greatest of his disciples was in the same volume with his master's writings. In such a prophet Isaiah himself lived on: the sons of the prophets were the descendants of their spiritual father; there was a continuity and solidarity in the spiritual as in the natural family; and no injustice would be done if posterity identified them. It is possible, too, that the significance of Isaiah's name may have had some influence. Where could the great prophecy of Israel's deliverance from Babylon be more fitly placed than in the volume of the prophet whose name proclaimed the message of *Jehovah's salvation?* At any rate, there is no ground for a charge of fraud or imposture. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that a nameless prophet wished to secure the prestige of a famous name. The book itself does not contain the faintest trace of any claim to have been written by Isaiah, such as would certainly have been found in a pseudonymous production.[1]

II

It follows that the Book of Consolation is to be

[1] In the Talmudic list the prophets are placed in the order, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah; and they are found in this order in many MSS. It has been conjectured that the position of Isaiah preserves a trace of a consciousness that, in its present form, the book is later than Jeremiah and Ezekiel. See Strack in Herzog's *Encycl.* vii. 433; and Ryle's *Canon of the O. T.* pp. 225 ff.

studied as a series of prophecies addressed by an exile in Babylon to his fellow-exiles in the last decennium of the Captivity. It is from this point of view alone that its full significance can be realised, and its true meaning understood. It was a crisis in Israel's history of incalculable importance for the history of the world's redemption. At this crisis God raised up a prophet second to none of the older prophets save Isaiah himself, to bring home to the desponding spirits of the exiles a conviction of the grandeur of Israel's mission for the world, and of the certainty that Jehovah, Who had predestined Israel to be His Servant to accomplish this mission, would assuredly fulfil His purposes. If any prophecy bears the stamp of appropriateness to a critical epoch it is this. This prophet is above all a theologian. The message which he has to proclaim concerning Jehovah, and Israel's relation to Jehovah, is the central truth around which all his teaching is grouped. But he is no abstract theologian, discussing the Being and Attributes of God as a speculative question; he has a most practical aim in view. All his teaching is bent on making his countrymen realise the significance of the approaching crisis, prepare themselves for it, throw themselves on Jehovah, seize the moment, and, rising to the occasion, fulfil their true destiny.

Timeliness of the prophecy.

It is not likely that the prophet addressed his message orally to large audiences. The circumstances of the exiles can hardly have made this

possible. It may have been delivered in the first instance to an immediate circle of disciples, but in order to reach the mass of the exiles it must have been committed to writing, and circulated to others who could communicate it to those immediately around them. But in whatever way its publication was effected, it is plain that it was intended for the whole body of the exiles in Babylon, of every class and character.

Character of the exiles:

It is sometimes assumed that the Exile effected an immediate and complete change in the character of the entire people. Nothing can be further from the truth. Jeremiah and Ezekiel testify to the prevalence of idolatry and superstition in the earlier years of the Exile, alike in Egypt and Babylonia.[1] The picture which can be drawn from the pages of our prophet displays no radical amendment.

some apostates,

Some of the exiles have been absorbed by the heathenism around them. They have no wish to return to the Holy Land. They have forsaken Jehovah, and forgotten His holy mountain; they practise heathen superstitions and worship the heathen deities of Fortune and Destiny; they contemptuously neglect the laws of ceremonial purity and Sabbath observance, which had now become of special importance as marking the distinction between Israel and the heathen; they scorn and persecute the faithful worshippers of Jehovah. These stout-hearted rebels

[1] See Jer. xliv; Ezek. xiv and xx.

are *far from righteousness;* they do not believe in Jehovah's purpose to redeem His people.[1]

Others professed a reverence for Jehovah's Name, and still called themselves citizens of Zion. They observed the Sabbath, and kept the fasts; but their religion was an external formalism. Like their ancestors in Judaea, they had no conception of Jehovah's moral demands, and failed to realise that He was a jealous God. They were guilty of gross violence and oppression towards their poorer and weaker neighbours, and they did not scruple to combine heathen rites with the worship of Jehovah. The temptation was strong in the midst of a prevailing heathenism, and they had never broken with the evil traditions which they had carried with them into exile.[2] *some indifferentists,*

But in the midst of these apostates and indifferentists there were some true Israelites who feared Jehovah and obeyed the voice of His servant; who followed after righteousness and sought Jehovah and treasured His law in their hearts; who mourned for Zion's desolation, and recognised that the sufferings of the Exile were the merited punishment of the nation's sins. With these, who were of a contrite and humble spirit, Jehovah promises to dwell; to these He proclaims the gospel of deliverance. Yet even these were timid and desponding; fancying *some faithful but desponding.*

[1] See lxv. 2 ff., 11 ff.; lxvi. 3 ff., 17; xlvi. 8, 12; xlviii. 1 ff.; li. 7. On chaps. lvii, lviii, see p. 372.

[2] See xlviii. 1 ff.; lviii. 1 ff.; lxvi. 3.

themselves forgotten and forsaken by Jehovah; questioning whether the fierce tyranny of Babylon could ever be quelled, and Israel restored to its ancient home.[1]

Adaptation of the prophecy to their needs.

Such were the elements among which the prophet had to work. He had a message for all. The object of his prophecy was not merely to comfort faithful Israelites by the announcement of the approaching deliverance from Babylon, but to prepare for that deliverance. The sternest rebuke alternates with the tenderest consolation. The most fearful descriptions of the rebels' doom are presented side by side with the most glorious prospects of restoration. Jehovah is coming to redeem His people. But the mass of the nation is all unfit for His advent. It is the prophet's task if possible to prepare them for it, to startle them into repentance, to inspire them with faith. They have no conception of Israel's calling and destiny; it is His aim to convince them of its responsibility and its magnificence. Now or never is Israel's opportunity. With impassioned enthusiasm he sets before them the character of the God with whom they have to do; the purpose for which He has chosen Israel to be His servant; the deliverance by which He designs once more to put Israel in a position to fulfil its mission to the world. These are the leading ideas round which all that he has

[1] See l. 10; li. 1, 7, 12 ff.; lxi. 1 ff.; lxvi. 10; lvii. 15; xl. 27; xlix. 14.

to say is grouped; and his message gains a new depth of meaning, it becomes instinct with fresh force, when we connect it with the circumstances under which the prophet lived and taught; when we regard it not as an abstract treatise, anticipating needs which were to arise a century and a half after its composition, but as the living, burning words of one whose heart throbs with passionate eagerness and trembling fear in sight of the glorious consummation which is at hand, if Israel has but faith and courage to take God at His word and challenge Him to fulfil His promises to the uttermost. If the prophecy loses something in mere marvellousness when it is no longer regarded as predicting from a remote distance the circumstances of the Exile and the Return, it gains infinitely more in significance and interest when it is brought into a vital connexion with the present needs of the nation.

III

Plan of the book.

We must then approach the study of the leading ideas in the Book of Consolation from the standpoint of its immediate purpose. A rapid glance at its general plan and outline will facilitate this study. For our present purpose it may, I believe, be regarded as possessing a substantial unity. It is not a formal treatise composed at one time. There are marks of progress in it. Some critics think that they can trace the hands of more than a single author. But there

is, in spite of many difficulties, especially in the later chapters, sufficient coherence and unity of purpose to justify us in speaking of it as a book, and in speaking of its author. If, as seems almost certain, the author has made use of earlier prophecies, he has incorporated them as a substantial part of his work. They are no mere accidental excrescences, and there seems no strong reason for supposing that the book was not completed by its original author substantially in its present form.

What the plan of the work is, and how it should be divided, are questions not easily answered.

At first sight the triple division of the book into three equal parts, which has found much favour, is extremely attractive. The solemn warning at the close of ch. xlviii, *There is no peace, saith Jehovah, to the wicked,* repeated at the close of ch. lvii, *There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked,* and reiterated in substance though not in words in the closing verse of the book which describes the doom of the rebels against Jehovah, has been thought to give the desired boundary marks. But it does so in appearance only. There is no real break in thought between chaps. lvii and lviii. The theme in both is the reproof of Israel's sin.

(*i.*) *Chaps. xl–xlviii.* There is however a general agreement that chapters xl-xlviii form the first division of the prophecy. They are the "Book of Consolation" properly so called. They contain the prophet's first great message of good

news in view of the approaching deliverance. Most, if not all, of the great ideas further developed in the subsequent chapters are found here in germ; but some subjects are treated in detail here which do not reappear in the later chapters. Prominent thoughts in these chapters, which do not recur later on, are the contrast between Jehovah and idols, the appeal to ancient prophecies in proof of Jehovah's Deity, the divine call of Cyrus and his triumphant career, the destruction of Babylon the proud oppressor. We may perhaps discern a more hopeful tone in these chapters than in those which follow. In the first flush of enthusiasm the prophet has hope for all his countrymen. It is only by degrees that he comes to realise that it is only the few that can be saved to constitute the new Israel.

From ch. xlix onward the divisions are less clearly marked. It has indeed been questioned whether any real divisions exist. But the following arrangement will be found helpful for study.

Chapters xlix-liv expand the idea of Jehovah's Servant, already presented in germ and outline in the preceding chapters. The Servant's calling, his experience, his triumph, are successively described, and the section ends with a glorious picture of the final result of his work in the restoration and beatification of Zion. It is addressed, in the main, to the faithful few, who are capable of appreciating in some degree the ideal destiny of Israel, and who long for its

(ii.) Chaps. xlix-liv.

realisation. From this point onwards, the Servant of Jehovah is not mentioned by name, though he may be the speaker in ch. lxi. 1 ff. His place is taken by the *servants of Jehovah*, as though the ideal had been transformed into the actual, and would henceforward be realised in all the individual members of the nation.[1]

(iii.) Chaps. lv–lx.

Chapters lv-lx may be taken to form the next division. It opens with an invitation to accept the offered salvation, and an earnest call to repentance. But the people are slow to listen, and the prophet, borrowing the words of some earlier prophet,[2] describes the actual character of the nation in the past. Yet, in spite of all past apostasy, it is now Jehovah's purpose to heal Israel. Then follows a renewed

[1] See liv. 17 ; lvi. 6 ; lxiii. 17 ; lxv. 8, 9, 13, 14, 15 ; lxvi. 14. The singular does not occur after liii. 11, nor the plural before liv. 17.

[2] The want of connexion with the preceding section, as well as the difference of style and apparently of historical circumstances in lvi. 9–lvii. 10, are best explained by the supposition that the passage is taken from some older prophet, a contemporary, perhaps, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It is not, however, an interpolation, but is introduced by the author as a description of the causes which have brought Israel into its present plight. It has an application to those exiles who were inclined to idolatry. But the prophet speaks *of* them rather than *to* them. He implies that there is a continuity of national life, and that they are the true children of their ancestors, from whose guilt they have not dissociated themselves by hearty repentance.

In ch. lix. 1-8 it seems to me that the prophet is referring mainly to the sins of the nation before the Exile, for which (*vv.* 9 ff.) the nation is now suffering. Here, too, the prophet may be following older models, but to what extent is doubtful.

summons to repentance, with an exposure of the hypocrisy of Israel's formal righteousness. Unrepented sin is the real hindrance to the desired salvation, not impotence or unwillingness on Jehovah's part. He is about to appear with an irresistible manifestation of victorious power in judgement as well as mercy. Thus, and not otherwise, will the goal of Israel's destiny be reached.

Reproof and denunciation are the distinguishing characteristics of this section. It describes the hindrances to salvation in the impenitence and unreceptiveness of the mass of the nation. But Jehovah triumphantly overcomes these obstacles: if man will not co-operate with Him, His own arm will effect His salvation (lix. 16). The closing chapter reaches the same goal as the closing chapter of the preceding section, though Jerusalem's restoration is now considered, not in itself merely, but in the wider aspect of its relation to the nations of the world.

(iv.) Chaps. lxi–lxvi.

The last division (chapters lxi-lxvi) consists of a series of addresses, some of which seem intended to reassure those who were cast down by the delay of the promised salvation, while others seem to have been delivered when the decree for the Return had been issued, and the rebuilding of the Temple was being actually contemplated. The old promises are reaffirmed, but the contrast between the penitent who can alone enjoy them and the impenitent for whom nothing remains but judgement, is even more

strongly and sternly emphasised than before. Jehovah Himself cannot give salvation to those who obstinately refuse its conditions. Even the Book of Consolation must end with a final contrast of glory and disgrace.

IV

Theology of Isa. xl-lxvi. Jehovah the God of Israel.

A thorough examination of the theology of the Book of Consolation would require a separate treatise. All that can be attempted here is to indicate some of the leading ideas which the prophet was taught by the Spirit of God to impress upon his fellow-exiles in Babylon to meet their needs in this momentous crisis. Consider their position. Though they were not slaves in the modern sense of the word, they had lost their liberty, and humanly speaking there seemed but little probability that they would ever regain it. They were face to face with a dominant heathenism, which seemed to have rewarded its votaries with triumphant prosperity. What wonder if some of them were tempted to think that man was stronger than God; that after all the visible powers of the material world were more real than the unseen powers of the spiritual world? What wonder if others were ready to regard Bel and Nebo, whom their conquerors worshipped, as equal or perhaps superior to Jehovah, and to fancy that after all it might be wisest to propitiate the gods of the country where they were living? Such were

their dangers. And so the prophet sets to work to bring home to their minds the truth that God, and not man, is the supreme power; that Jehovah is the one unique, incomparable God, beside Whom there is no other. It is not that he has any new truth to proclaim about Jehovah; but just as the truths concerning the Holy Trinity were gradually defined and made clear as the need for definition arose from the propagation of false statements, and what was implicitly contained in the faith of the Gospel was explicitly defined so as to exclude error; so now this prophet of the Exile, for the needs of his time and his audience, brings out into a new relief and prominence the fundamental truth of absolute monotheism, the truth that Jehovah, the God of Israel, is the one only God Who created the world, and preserves its order, and controls the events of history for His own purposes. All the prophet's teaching centres round the exposition of the nature and character of Jehovah, Who has chosen Israel to be His own people, to set forth His glory; for in that nature and character is the ground of Israel's confidence, the certainty that Israel is not and cannot be forsaken.

(1) Contrast between God and man.

The contrast between the transitory impotence of man and the eternal omnipotence of Jehovah is the first point which he emphasises. In face of the apparently invincible might of Babylon, deliverance must have seemed hopeless to the exiles. But at the very outset of his prophecy he proclaims this contrast for Israel's

comfort. When the mysterious voice has announced the impending restoration of Israel, another voice bids him *Cry*, and when he asks *What shall I cry?* he receives the answer: *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the breath of Jehovah bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever* (xl. 6 ff.). It is the thought upon which Israel is to reflect in view of all the overwhelming magnificence and power of their conquerors, which seems for the moment so irresistible and so permanent.

The same thought is repeated even more emphatically at a later point in the prophecy, when perhaps disappointment was beginning to be felt at the delay in the fulfilment of the prediction of deliverance. *I, even I, am He that comforteth you: who art thou, that thou art afraid of man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass; and hast forgotten Jehovah thy Maker, that stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and fearest continually all the day because of the fury of the oppressor, when he maketh ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor?* (li. 12, 13).

(2) *Contrast between Jehovah and idols.*

But it is not so much the contrast between Jehovah and man as the contrast between Jehovah and idols upon which the prophet dwells. It is this which gives him occasion to set forth the omni-

potence and wisdom and omniscience of the Creator, the sovereign Ruler of the world, Who knows and declares from the beginning the final purpose of His will. *Who*, he asks, *hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand, and meted out heaven with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?* (xl. 12). The answer is obvious. None but Jehovah, who has assigned to the universe its form and dimensions, as easily as a workman measures his materials and plans out his work with his ordinary tools. *Who*, he continues, *hath meted out the spirit of Jehovah, or being His counsellor hath taught Him? With whom took He counsel, and who instructed Him, and taught Him in the path of judgement, yea taught Him knowledge, and shewed Him the way of understanding?* (xl. 13 f.).

Alone He planned the universe in His supreme wisdom; alone He rules and maintains it all. Its magnificence and order bear unceasing witness to His power. *Lift up your eyes on high, and see: who hath created these? He that bringeth out their host by number: He calleth them all by name; by the greatness of His might, and for that He is strong in power, not one is lacking* (xl. 26). But He does not rule in nature only. He rules in the affairs of men. The Creator of the world is its Governor. It is He that is *throned upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers.* It is He Who

has *stretched out the heavens like gauze, and spread them out as a tent to dwell in: that bringeth princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity. Scarce have they been planted, scarce have they been sown, scarce hath their stock taken root in the earth, when He bloweth upon them, and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as stubble* (xl. 22-24).

To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto Him? is the prophet's indignant question as he points from his sublime sketch of the Creator and Governor of the world to the contemptible folly of a manufactured idol (xl. 18). *To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal to him? saith the Holy One,* is the solemn repetition from God Himself of the prophet's question (xl. 25).

But this truth of the sovereignty of Jehovah has an immediate application to present circumstances. The coast lands of the Mediterranean and the nations which are trembling before the triumphant advance of Cyrus are challenged to say who it is that has raised up this victorious hero and endowed him with such irresistible might. *Who hath wrought and done it?* and the answer comes, *One who calls the generations from the beginning,* planning and controlling not this only but all the movements of the world's history: *I Jehovah am the first, and with the last I am He* (xli. 4). But in their panic the nations resort to their gods, and repair their idols; and these gods are now arraigned, and challenged to give proof of

their deity by shewing their foreknowledge (xli. 21 ff.). Let them point to predictions which have been already fulfilled, or predict what is yet to happen: nay, let them demonstrate their existence by action of any kind. But they are dumb. *There is none that declareth, there is none that sheweth . . . even among them there is no counsellor, that . . . can answer a word* (xli. 26 ff.). Jehovah claims that He has raised up Cyrus, and no one else knew that he was coming: He first proclaims to Zion the good news of approaching deliverance.

Once more the nations are summoned, and their gods are challenged to produce testimony to their own powers of foreknowledge and of action. *Who among them can declare this, and shew us former things? let them bring their witnesses, that they may be justified.* But they have none; whereas Jehovah can appeal to Israel as His witnesses. That mysterious nation in its past history, and in the fresh wonders which are in store for it, is the witness to Jehovah's power. *I, even I, have declared, and have saved, and have shewed, and there was no strange god among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and I am God. Yea from this day forth I am He; and there is none that can deliver out of My hand: I work, and who can reverse it?* (xliii. 9-13).

But Israel is slow to believe; and once more the claims of Jehovah to unique Deity, and to the sovereignty and foreknowledge which are the attributes of

Deity, are asserted; and the stupid folly of idolatry is signally exposed by a graphic description of the whole process of idol manufacture. Jehovah speaks as *the King of Israel, and his redeemer Jehovah of hosts: I am the first, and I am the last; and beside Me there is no God. . . . Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have I not declared unto thee of old, and shewed it? and ye are my witnesses. Is there a God beside Me? yea, there is no Rock; I know not any. They that fashion a graven image are all of them vanity; and their desirable things shall not profit: and their own witnesses see not, nor know; that they may be ashamed* (xliv. 6 ff.).

But Israel's King is the King of all the earth. When He formed the earth and established it, He created it not to be chaos, but formed it to be inhabited; and His purpose is, and He has confirmed it with a solemn oath, that unto Him *every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.* He claims and will ultimately receive the universal allegiance of all mankind (xlv. 18 ff.).

The destruction of Babylon is imminent; and as the prophet watches the images of her tutelary deities borne into a helpless captivity, he contrasts their impotence with the loving care of Jehovah, who has borne and carried the nation of Israel from its birth. He makes one last appeal to *the transgressors* to ponder the course of Israel's history, and to read the lesson of this new deliverance which is in course of accomplishment. *Remember the former things of old:*

for I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like Me; declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times things that are not yet done; saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all My pleasure . . . (xlvi. 9 ff.).

Throughout the first division of the prophecy (chaps. xl-xlviii) this contrast between the impotence of the heathen idols and the omnipotence, omniscience, and sovereign purpose of Jehovah is repeatedly insisted on. This is the fundamental truth upon which Israel may depend: this can inspire them with hope and courage in the midst of the catastrophes which cause consternation to the nations, for these are but Jehovah's means for the deliverance of His people.

All this omnipotence is being exerted on behalf of Israel. Jehovah has created Jacob, and formed Israel (xliii. 1). They are His sons and His daughters, whom He has created for His glory (xliii. 6, 7): they are His people, His chosen, the people which He formed for Himself that they might set forth His praise (xliii. 21). Again and again the tender love of Jehovah for His people is described. *He shall feed His flock like a shepherd;* even as in the days of old *in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them and carried them all the days of old* (lxiii. 9 ff.). His is more than a mother's love. *Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?*

yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee (xlix. 15).

There are two attributes of Jehovah, constantly connected in this prophecy with the redemption of Israel, which require special notice—His righteousness and His holiness.

(3) Jehovah's righteousness.

The righteousness of God is manifested in His deliverance of Israel. There is no contrast in the mind of the prophet between righteousness and mercy. Salvation is the correlative and companion of righteousness (xlv. 8; xlvi. 13; li. 5, 6, 8; lvi. 1). Jehovah is a righteous God and therefore a saviour (xlv. 21). For salvation is His eternal purpose; and it is in conformity with that eternal purpose that He is delivering Israel. However He may seem for a time to be forced by men's sin to deviate from the straight line of that purpose, He is always self-consistent, unswayed by passion, unbiassed by partiality, undeterred from His purpose by human obstinacy and perversity. He has called Israel His servant in righteousness (xlii. 6), and He promises to uphold him with the right hand of His righteousness (xli. 10). He has raised up Cyrus in righteousness to execute His purpose (xlv. 13). When He comes triumphant from His victory over Israel's enemies He proclaims Himself as one that speaks in righteousness, mighty to save (lxiii. 1). The decree for the ultimate submission of the nations is a word that has gone forth from His mouth in righteousness (xlv. 23).

Jehovah's righteousness is His conformity to that absolute law which God must ever be unto Himself, that unchanging standard of right which excludes all idea of caprice or variableness. It is the embodiment in action of the attribute of truth, which is the inalienable characteristic of Deity.

(1) *Jehovah's holiness.*

The title *the Holy One of Israel* is one of the most striking points of connexion between this prophecy and Isaiah. It was, as we have seen reason to believe (p. 177), coined by Isaiah; and it is appropriated by his great disciple in the Exile. The preservation of Israel in the Assyrian troubles when Jerusalem's last hour seemed at hand was the work of the Holy One of Israel. The redemption of Israel from Babylon and her glorification are equally His characteristic work. *Thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel* is a distinctive note of this prophecy.[1] It is the Holy One of Israel who has sent to Babylon to bring down all the Chaldeans as fugitives (xliii. 14, 15; cp. xlv. 11). Redeemed Israel will *glory in the Holy One of Israel*. It is He who glorifies Zion (lv. 5; lx. 9), and the title of the city will be *The Zion of the Holy One of Israel* (lx. 14). This title *the Holy One of Israel* was a perpetual reminder of the character of the God who had entered into covenant with Israel. It affirmed on the one hand that in virtue of His essential Deity His purposes for His people could not be frustrated; and on the other

[1] See xli. 14; xliii. 14; xlvii. 4; xlviii. 17; xlix. 7; liv. 5.

hand that Israel must conform to His claim of holiness. And the prophet looks forward to the response of the people to Jehovah's renewed manifestation of His purpose towards them.

(5) Jehovah's name.

It is but another way of expressing the truth that Israel's redemption is in accordance with the divine righteousness and the characteristic work of Israel's Holy One when it is said to be wrought for His own sake, or for His Name's sake (xliii. 25 ; xlviii. 9-11 ; cp. xlii. 8).[1] It is the outcome and issue of all that He is, and all that He has revealed Himself to be. Israel is not redeemed for any merit of its own, but in pursuance of an eternal purpose, in accomplishment of the unchanging divine Will and Counsel.

(6) Jehovah's glory.

As the motive of Jehovah's action is for His Name's sake, its rule His righteousness, its condition His holiness, so its final cause is His glory. The object of Israel's creation is His glory (xliii. 7): in the redemption of Israel the glory of the Lord will be revealed so that all flesh may see it together (xl. 5); when He executes vengeance, men will fear the name of Jehovah from the west, and His glory from the rising of the sun (lix. 19); Zion in her restoration will be the reflection of that glory (lx. 1, 2), and in the final judgement it will be manifested and recognised among the nations (lxvi. 18, 19). Thus all the dealings of God with His people and with the world contribute to that revelation of His Being and

[1] Comp. the teaching of Ezekiel, p. 344.

His attributes which makes His Presence known, so far as men can know it, in its dazzling and transcendent splendour.

V

The Servant of Jehovah.

We have seen thus far how the great prophet of the Exile develops and enforces the fundamental truth of the Being and the character of Jehovah in order to reanimate the faint-hearted, to arouse the indifferent, to convince the apostates, among his hearers, in view of the approaching deliverance of Israel from Babylon. Side by side with this truth, or rather interwoven with it into one great argument, he sets forth the truths of God's eternal and irrevocable choice of Israel to be His peculiar people, of the purpose with which that choice was made, and of the means by which that purpose is to be carried into effect. The Servant of Jehovah is the counterpart and correlative of Jehovah Himself in the prophet's teaching. It was a truth for the time. Israel as it was needed to be convinced of its mission to the world in order that it might seize the opportunity now to be offered to it of making a new step forward for the accomplishment of that mission, of redeeming the failure of past days, of responding to the divine call and accepting the divine commission.

The study of the idea of the Servant of Jehovah presented in these chapters is beset with difficulty.

The only method which can lead to satisfactory results is to examine the gradual development of the conception in the series of passages which treat of it.

The nation of Israel, ch. xli. 8-16.

The first of these is ch. xli. 8-16. The consternation which is being produced among the nations by the triumphant advance of Cyrus has just been described. From the nations Jehovah turns to address Israel. In the midst of these political convulsions Israel has nothing to fear.

But thou, Israel, My servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham My friend; thou whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called from the corners thereof, and unto whom I have said, "Thou art My servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away";—Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of My righteousness.

It is plainly the nation of Israel which is here styled the Servant of Jehovah. This honourable title is given in the Old Testament to individuals who were raised up to do special work, such as Moses the lawgiver, Joshua the conqueror of the Promised Land, David the founder of the true theocratic monarchy. And here the nation is regarded as a unity, chosen, called, preserved, for a special purpose of service to God. In spite of all appearances, God has not cast away His Servant.

Israel has nothing to fear. Its enemies are the enemies of Jehovah, and they will be utterly destroyed. *Behold, all they that are incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they that strive with thee shall be as nothing, and shall perish* (xli. 11).

The Servant's mission, ch. xlii. 1 ff.

Here the emphasis is on the choice of Israel and its ultimate success in its mission. In the next chapter the character and object of that mission are described. Jehovah is the speaker. He is addressing the world. He introduces to them His Servant, and describes His work and its method:

Behold My servant, whom I uphold; My chosen, in whom My soul delighteth: I have put My spirit upon him; he shall cause right to go forth to the nations. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and a failing wick shall he not quench: he shall cause right to go forth in truth. He shall not fail, nor break down, till he have set right in the earth, and for his instruction shall the coastlands wait (xlii. 1-4).

Then, turning to His Servant, Jehovah addresses him:

Thus saith God, even Jehovah, that created the heavens, and stretched them forth, that spread out the earth, and that which cometh forth of it, that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein; I Jehovah have called thee in righteousness, and hold thine hand, and guard thee, and give

thee to be a covenant of people,[1] *a light of nations; to open blind eyes, to bring out prisoners from the dungeon, them that sit in darkness out of the prison house* (xlii. 5-7).

We have here a description of the work of Jehovah's Servant. But who is meant? I cannot think that there is any doubt that, as in the preceding passage, Israel is meant by this title. The same terms are employed here as in ch. xli: here, as there, the Servant is described as divinely *upheld, chosen, called.* But it is, as we say, an *ideal* description, setting forth in the sublimest terms the divine purpose of Israel's election. That purpose is nothing less than the propagation of divine right according to truth among all nations. It is nothing less than to bring universal illumination to the moral darkness of the world, universal liberation to the bond-slaves of ignorance and error. This victory of right is not to be won by force, or with pomp of attendant circumstance: it will not overwhelm but restore the weak and feeble: and this divine purpose is sealed

[1] Much confusion and difficulty have been introduced into the interpretation of this passage by the failure to recognise that *people* in *v.* 6 does not denote Israel. It must be explained as in *v.* 5, where, as in ch. xl. 7, *people* means mankind in general. It is through the work of His servant Israel that Jehovah wills to establish His covenant with all mankind. There is no reference here to the work which needs to be effected for the servant himself before he can accomplish the divine purpose, though already the language of *v.* 7 may be chosen in view of the startling paradox that the instrument designed for the world's liberation is itself in prison, itself needs to be set free.

with the solemn words: *I am Jehovah: that is My name; and My glory will I not give to another, neither My praise unto graven images* (xlii. 8).

But the actual state of Israel is a strange contrast to its splendid destiny. It is this astonishing paradox which next occupies the prophet's attention. The coming restoration of Israel from exile is described (xlii. 10-17), and then with startling abruptness Israel—the actual Israel of the Exile—is addressed:

Ye deaf, hear! and ye blind, look, that ye may see! Who is blind, but My servant? and deaf, as My messenger that I would send? Who is blind as My devoted one? yea, blind as Jehovah's servant? Israel, far from being able to open blind eyes, is itself blind. Far from being in a position to loose others from prison, they are themselves *snared in holes and hid in prison houses.* And the cause of this strange contrast between the actual plight in which Israel lies and its ideal destiny is the chastisement which Jehovah has inflicted upon Israel for its wilful sin and disobedience (xlii. 24, 25). *The Servant's failure, ch. xlii. 18 ff.*

Yet, utterly as Israel has failed in its calling, sore as has been the punishment inflicted upon it, it has an indelible character as the Servant of Jehovah; in spite of itself it will be carried on to fulfil its mission. *Yet now thus saith Jehovah that created thee, O Jacob, and He that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy name;* *The Servant's restoration, ch. xliii. 8 ff.; xliv. 1 ff.; xlviii. 20.*

thou art Mine (xliii. 1). Blind and deaf as are the individuals who now compose the nation of Israel, they are still His witnesses. Their very existence bears testimony to His plan. *Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears. . . . Ye are My witnesses, saith Jehovah, and My servant whom I have chosen* (xliii. 8, 10).

Once more, in ch. xliv, the same thoughts are repeated. In spite of the repeated sins, for which its consecrated princes have been dishonoured, and Jacob made a curse, and Israel a reviling, Jehovah has not cast off His people. Free forgiveness awaits them. He will quicken them once more with a new life, and the nations will unite in fellowship with Israel and Israel's God. Here are the gracious words of promise:

Yet now hear, O Jacob My servant, and Israel whom I have chosen: thus saith Jehovah, that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, who will help thee: Fear not, O Jacob My servant, and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon the thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground: I will pour My spirit upon thy seed, and My blessing upon thine offspring: and they shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the watercourses. One shall say, I am Jehovah's; and another shall celebrate the name of Jacob; and a third shall inscribe himself as Jehovah's, and surname himself with the name of Israel (xliv. 1-5).

The instrument of deliverance has already been prepared. If Cyrus has been raised up and commissioned by no less honourable a title than the Anointed of Jehovah (xlv. 1), it is for the sake of Jacob His Servant, and of Israel His chosen, that Jehovah has called him by his name (xlv. 4). And when the exiles march forth from Babylon in their new Exodus, the triumph song which is to be re-echoed even to the end of the earth is this, *Jehovah hath redeemed His servant Jacob* (xlviii. 20).

The ideal Servant, ch. xlix. 1 ff

Thus far—to the end of the first division of the prophecy—it is plainly the nation of Israel which is spoken of as the Servant of Jehovah. Israel is the people which He has chosen to fulfil His purposes for the world, and in spite of its utter failure in its mission, Israel remains His Servant; it cannot be abandoned; it is to be redeemed and restored to its own land that it may fulfil its destiny as the bearer of salvation to the ends of the earth. Jehovah's essential character and His relation to Israel are the guarantees that Israel's mission must, in some way or other, be accomplished.

But how can this be? Israel itself needs to be converted; atonement must be made for Israel's sin before it can fulfil its mission to the world; and thus in a second group of passages, extending from ch. xlix to ch. liii, we have a fresh presentation of the Servant's work. That work is now described as beginning with Israel itself, and extending from

Israel to the nations. In spite of Israel's failure and humiliation the true Servant of Jehovah is hidden within it. In the opening of this new division of the prophecy he speaks, addressing the nations, and describing his calling and his work, his seeming present failure and his certain ultimate success.

Listen, O coastlands, unto me; and hearken, ye peoples, from far: Jehovah called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother He made mention of my name: and He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me; and He hath made me a polished arrow, in His quiver hath He concealed me; and He said unto me, Thou art my servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified. But I—I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and vanity: yet surely my judgement is with Jehovah, and my recompence is with my God. And now saith Jehovah that formed me from the womb to be His servant, to bring Jacob back to Him, and that Israel may be gathered unto Him . . . yea, He saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be My servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: yea, I will make thee a light of the nations, that thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth (xlix. 1-6).

At first sight it might be supposed that the prophet is the speaker. But this is clearly not the case. The Servant of Jehovah who speaks is still identified with Israel (*v.* 3). But in what sense?

For this Servant's first work is for Israel itself, *to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel.* He is therefore at once identified with and distinguished from Israel; and it would seem that *Israel* must be used in a narrower and a wider sense of the ideal Israel according to the divine calling and purpose, and the actual Israel sunk for the most part in indifference and unbelief. Hidden within the nation there is the true Israel, ready to fulfil its calling as the Servant of Jehovah; the faithful few, who alone really deserve the name of Israel; and it is through this element within the nation that it can be saved and restored and led on to fulfil its calling. This element corresponds to the *holy seed* which Isaiah foretold would preserve the life of Israel through the time of desolating catastrophe (vi. 11-13); and in the name of this element which he represents, and not for himself alone, or for any single individual, the prophet speaks.

His experience, ch. l. 4 ff.

Once more in ch. l. the Servant speaks, describing his divine equipment, his vocation, his experience of shameful rebuff and persecution, his certainty of ultimate triumph in the divine strength.

The Lord Jehovah hath given me a disciple's tongue, that I may know how to sustain the weary with a word: He wakeneth morning by morning, wakeneth mine ear to hear as disciples do. The Lord Jehovah hath opened mine ear, and I—I was not rebellious, I turned not away backward. I gave my back to the

smiters, and my cheeks to those who plucked out the hair; I hid not my face from insult and spitting. But the Lord Jehovah will help me: therefore have I not been confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand up together: who is mine adversary? let him approach me. Behold, the Lord Jehovah will help me: who is he that shall condemn me? behold, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up (l. 4-9).

It is the Servant who speaks; and God Himself, addressing the faithful few, sets His seal to the Servant's mission. *Who is among you that feareth Jehovah, that obeyeth the voice of His servant? though he hath walked in darkness, and hath had no light, let him trust in the name of Jehovah, and stay himself upon his God* (l. 10).

If this passage stood alone we might again suppose that it referred to the prophet himself; but it must be taken along with the other passages of the series; and when we remember the strong sense of solidarity in ancient Israel, we shall find no difficulty in seeing that the prophet speaks not for himself only, but as the mouthpiece and representative of that true Israel, which, as we have seen, is spoken of in ch. xlix as Jehovah's Servant.

Thus, step by step, we are led up to that sacred passage in which the prophet's teaching concerning

the Servant of Jehovah culminates. The exodus from Babylon is assumed to have taken place (lii. 7-12). *Jehovah hath made bare His holy arm in the sight of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth see the salvation of our God* (lii. 10). Then once more the prophetic discourse reverts to the Servant; but whereas before he was himself introduced as speaking, it is now Jehovah Who speaks, and describes the issue of his work. His success and exaltation will be proportionate to his humiliation, exciting the astonishment of nations and kings, who are struck dumb with amazement at this unexpected sight (lii. 13-15). But it is not to the nations only that it is a surprise. Speaking in the name of his compatriots the prophet laments the general incredulity with which he had been received. Who in Israel had believed the announcement made to them? For he had no outward attractiveness; nay, he was *despised and rejected of men*, he was as some loathsome sufferer, from whom men turn in abhorrence (liii. 1-3). Penitently they confess their blindness as they recognise that he suffered not for his own sin but for the sin of the people, on behalf of those who thought him the object of God's especial wrath (liii. 4-6).

Victory through suffering, ch. lii. 13-liii.

The grossest maltreatment he met with uncomplaining resignation: he perished, unregarded, by a violent death, and innocent as he was, he shared the grave of oppressors and malefactors (*vv.* 7-9).

But in sharpest contrast to his apparent fate is his

real destiny, for he suffered by Jehovah's will, and through death victorious over death he makes atonement for the transgressors with whom he was reckoned; and he whom men condemned as a malefactor proves to be their Saviour and Intercessor (*vv.* 10-12).

Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Is the portrait here drawn that of "an individual figure in which all the attributes of the Servant culminate," or is it "an ideal figure, which is the impersonation of Israel's ideal character, and which he represents as accomplishing what Israel, as he knew it, had left unachieved?"[1]

To attempt precise definition may perhaps be too great a refinement, a drawing of distinctions which would not have been present to the prophet's mind. Person or personification, this at least is the culmination of the idea of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah, whether he expected the features of the portrait to be realised in a single individual or in the restored and purified nation. It represents the ideal Servant perfectly fulfilling his work. It shews how that work must be accomplished in the face of misunderstanding and opposition and persecution; how redemption can only be achieved through vicarious suffering, life can only be won through death. It is possible that some features in that portrait were taken from the actual experience of prophets and

[1] Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 178.

other faithful servants of God, and united in an ideal combination; that it sums up the experiences of the past, and through them points forward to the future. The significance of that portrait for the prophet's contemporaries was that it expressed the certain assurance that the purpose for which Israel had been created and chosen and preserved would not fail of its accomplishment. It is upon the basis of the atonement made by the Servant that the glowing description in chap. liv of Zion's restoration in a covenant which is never to be broken rests. When Israel has confessed its sin, and recognised the work of the Servant in and for it, it can fulfil its mission and become the mother of the universal church. It is noteworthy that the Servant of Jehovah is not mentioned again. Instead of "the Servant," collective or individual, we meet with "the servants," [1] as though in the restored Israel every individual would in his part fulfil the vocation of the whole.

Fulfilment in Christ.

Whatever may have been the precise idea which the prophet's portrait of the suffering and triumphant Servant of Jehovah conveyed to himself and his contemporaries—and it is impossible for us to tell how far they were allowed to see into the mysterious truth which it foreshadowed—we who read it in the light of its fulfilment cannot doubt that it was intended by the Holy Spirit to point forward to Christ. In Him alone it receives its complete

[1] liv. 17; lvi. 6; lxiii. 17; lxv. 8, 9, 13, 14, 15; lxvi. 14.

explanation. He takes up the work which Israel could not do. As Israel's ideal representative, He sums up in Himself and carries out to its fullest development all that every true Israelite, every faithful prophet, every patient martyr had foreshewn, in many parts and in many fashions, of the Servant's work. Israel was "the Messianic nation"; and the Messiah who came in the fulness of times was the true and perfect Servant, whose redemptive work was exercised for His own people first, and then for the world. He was the final outcome and development of Israel; yet no mere natural product or spontaneous development, but the divinely foreordained and divinely given crown and consummation of the nation's history.

There is no prophecy in the whole of the Old Testament which offers a more convincing proof, not only of God's foreknowledge and purpose, but of His communication of it to man through His prophets; and when a recent historian of Israel can say that "when the ancient Church interprets the passage of the sufferings and death of the Messiah it does it violence, taking what is said about the past history of Israel for a prophecy of the future destiny of the Messianic King,"[1] he betrays that he has failed to grasp the fundamental principle of the organic unity of the Old and New Testaments, and the relation of the history of Israel to that gradual

[1] Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 79.

unfolding of salvation which is consummated in Christ.

But we must not hastily conclude that because, in the light of its fulfilment, this meaning of the prophecy is clear to us, it was also clear to the prophet and his contemporaries. Nay, we know that the idea of a suffering Messiah was abhorrent to the minds even of the disciples. All their thoughts were concentrated on the type of the Messianic King, and it was only as they pondered on the facts of the Lord's life in the early days after Pentecost that they were brought to see how the prophecies of the suffering Servant and the victorious King were united in the one Person of Him who reigned from the tree.

It is natural for us to regard this great prophecy, and indeed the whole series of prophecies, in the light of its fulfilment only, as it applies to Christ. It is easier to do so; but in so doing we lose something of the full understanding of the methods by which God taught His people of old, and revived and strengthened their faith. For once more be it observed that this whole exposition of the calling and the work and the victory of the Servant of the LORD was a truth for the time. At this crisis in Israel's history those who had ears to hear needed to be taught what was the calling of their nation, what was the purpose for which it had been so wonderfully created and preserved through all vicissitudes. They needed to be assured that in spite of Israel's failure,

the divine purpose would be victoriously accomplished.

More than they could have hoped has already been fulfilled; and in that fulfilment is the guarantee for us that God's purposes are moving towards a consummation greater and more glorious than aught that we can dare to imagine.

VI

Eschatology.

The immediate purpose of the prophet was, as we have seen, to comfort the exiles in Babylon with the assurance of their speedy deliverance, to interpret to them the significance of Israel's vocation, to prepare them to rise to the occasion, and, responding to the call of God, fulfil their destiny. So, while the restoration of the exiles to their own land occupies the foreground of his picture, the distance is radiant with a splendid vision of the glorious future which awaits Zion when it achieves its mission to the world.

In the first division of the prophecy (chapters xl-xlviii), which forms the Book of Consolation in the stricter sense, the coming deliverance from Babylon is naturally most prominent; but the thoughts of the ultimate consequences of that deliverance are already present in germ and outline, to be developed and expanded in the later chapters of the book.

The Exodus from Babylon.

The approaching deliverance will be a second Exodus. Jeremiah had predicted that its fame would

eclipse that of the first Exodus. *Behold the days come, saith Jehovah, that it shall no more be said, As Jehovah liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, As Jehovah liveth, that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the countries whither He had driven them* (Jer. xvi. 14, 15; xxiii. 7, 8). Our prophet repeatedly refers to the comparison.[1] It is a significant one. The nation was "born" in the first Exodus: in this second Exodus it is to be born again. This restoration is to be the initiation of a new order. *Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them* (xlii. 9; xliii. 19; xlviii. 6). Jehovah will once more lead His people through the wilderness with signs and wonders (xl. 3 ff.); but whereas in the first Exodus they came forth in haste (Deut. xvi. 3; Exod. xii. 11), and carried with them the contamination of the land of their sojourn, they are not *to go out in haste* or *by flight;* they are to *touch no unclean thing* (lii. 11, 12). Those *who bear the vessels of Jehovah* are bidden to *be clean.* Jehovah will return to Zion, and once more establish His kingdom there in the sight of all the nations (lii. 7-10). Babylon is to be put to eternal shame; Zion is to be glorified with everlasting glory. Babylon's gods are dethroned and dishonoured; Zion's God is supremely exalted and recognised as the sole sovereign of the world.

[1] See xl. 3 ff.; xlviii. 20 f.; li. 9 ff.; lii. 11, 12; lv. 12.

The restoration of Zion and accession of the nations.

Spiritual revival follows upon outward restoration; but the greatest glory of the restored Zion will be the accession of the nations, which crowd to do her homage, and confess that Jehovah is the only true Deity. *Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, there is no god.* The universal homage which He demands will ultimately be paid Him (xliv. 3 ff.; xlv. 14, 18-25).

In the later chapters of the book the restoration and its consequences are depicted in fuller detail in a series of passages, each of which surpasses the preceding one in glowing enthusiasm and magnificent anticipation.

The first work of the true Servant of Jehovah, hidden within the nation, is, as we have seen, to *raise up the tribes of Jacob and restore the preserved of Israel* (xlix. 6). Zion's children are restored to her (xlix. 14 ff.). She can scarcely believe the sight; but Jehovah's love is inalienable; and her waste and desolate places and her land that has been destroyed shall now be too strait for the inhabitants. At Jehovah's summons the nations bring them back, and their great ones wait to do them service (xlix. 22 ff.). Nature welcomes them; the curse of barrenness is removed; and Jehovah makes Zion's *wilderness like Eden*, and *her desert like the garden of Jehovah* (li. 3).

Jerusalem's persecutors will receive their just recompence: she will no more be profaned, but hence-

forth will be *the holy city*, into which there shall no more come *the uncircumcised and unclean* (li. 17 ff.; lii. 1 ff.).

A still more glowing picture of Zion's restoration follows immediately upon the culminating description of the suffering and victory of the Servant of Jehovah. She is to exult once more in the multitude of her children: she will *spread abroad on the right hand and on the left;* and her seed *will possess the nations.* Jehovah's wrath has rested upon her for a moment, but His mercy will be everlasting. *The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall My covenant of peace be removed, saith Jehovah that hath mercy on thee* (liv. 10). The outward beauty of the new Jerusalem, glistening with precious stones, will find its counterpart in the spiritual perfection of her children, when they realise in fact the character and calling of the servants of Jehovah (liv. 11-17). *Ch. liv.*

Strangely different indeed, the prophet knows, has been and is the character of the mass of the nation which bears the honourable title *the Servant of Jehovah;* yet his faith is unshaken that Jehovah cannot desert His people or fail in His purpose. When there is none to interpose, His own arm brings salvation unto Him. The covenant cannot be broken. *A redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith Jehovah. And as for Me, this is My covenant with them, saith Jehovah:*

My spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jehovah, from henceforth and for ever (lix. 20, 21).

Ch. lx. It is under these conditions that the divine glory dawns upon Zion, and as she shines with that celestial brightness, she becomes the light of the world which lies in darkness. She draws the nations to herself, and they bring back her scattered children. The treasures of the world are offered to do honour to Jehovah. All that is most costly and beautiful is brought to beautify the place of His sanctuary. Strangers build up her walls, and their kings minister to her. The sons of those who once oppressed her now pay her homage. Prosperity, peace, divine illumination, universal righteousness, distinguish the restored city and people. Her glory and her blessedness know neither limit nor end. The vision reaches into the far distance; and then the prophet, returning to the present, proclaims the ministry of restoration which has been committed to him.[1] He

[1] Opinions are divided whether the speaker in ch. lxi. 1 ff. is the prophet himself or the Servant of Jehovah. The Targum assigns the words to the prophet, and this I believe to be the correct view. It is true that the Servant is endowed with the Spirit, commissioned to raise up the downcast and release the prisoners. But nothing here goes beyond what the prophet might say of himself. The office of the speaker here is to proclaim, not to mediate, salvation. Elsewhere, when the Servant is introduced, he is designated by his title. He disappears from the book after

assures his fellow-exiles of the double recompence of honour which awaits them for the shame they have suffered. Israel will fulfil its calling as a nation of priests,[1] and the nations will serve them. The patriarchal promise will be realised. *All that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which Jehovah hath blessed* (lxi. 9).

Glorious as are these hopes for the future, they cannot remain unchequered and unqualified. The actual state of Israel forbids such optimism. The nations may still persist in antagonism to Jehovah and His people. And so in the closing chapters of the book the thoughts of judgement and salvation alternate with strange abruptness. Jehovah's triumphant return from executing vengeance upon Edom is a type and example of the universal judgement which awaits His adversaries. And when the prophet pleads in the name of the church of the Exile for the speedy fulfilment of the promises of restoration (ch. lxv), Jehovah points him to the apostate and rebellious element in Israel which hinders the coming of salvation, and warns them that for them nothing but judgement is in store (lxvi. 1 ff.). It is not all Israel that will be saved: *Chaps. lxiii–lxvi.*

chap. liii, and it would be strange that he should be reintroduced here without being named. And in these closing chapters the personality of the prophet does not lie so entirely in the background as it does in the earlier part of the book. This view does not affect the application of the prophecy by our Lord to Himself (St. Luke iv. 21).

[1] Isaiah lxi. 6 ; cp. Exod. xix. 6.

the enemies of Jehovah within His people will share the fate of those outside it. But the remnant of the nations which survives the judgement will declare Jehovah's glory to the yet more distant nations. They will bring the dispersed Israelites home to Jerusalem as the most acceptable offering they can present, and Jerusalem will be at once the centre of universal worship and the scene of a final judgement (lxvi. 18 ff.).

The prophet's picture of the future contemplates the inauguration of a new age with the restoration of Israel. He looks for new heavens and a new earth (lxv. 17, 18). The restored Jerusalem is a new creation. It is radiant with a splendour which is more than earthly. The peace of paradise is restored (lxv. 25). The curse of sin is annulled. Yet even so death is not abolished, though its penal character is at an end (lxv. 20). The final consummation and restoration of all things is not yet attained.

VII

The fulfilment.

When we compare the prophet's glowing anticipations of Israel's future with the actual course of history we are disappointed. The prophet's anticipations appear to be closely connected with the Return. The immediate result fell far short of them. Much was long deferred. Much still remains unrealised. Was he not then a true

prophet? Here as elsewhere it is necessary to consider carefully the character, limitations, and conditions of prophecy. First, it is clear that some of the language used is not plain matter-of-fact prose, but highly imaginative poetry. It is not necessary to suppose that the prophet expected that a road would be actually levelled through the desert, or that miraculous springs of water would burst forth on the track of the returning exiles, or that the walls of Jerusalem would be adorned with precious stones. Next it is necessary to take account of what has been called *the perspective of prophecy.* The prophet was taught to see the immense significance of the Return as ushering in a new era and marking a fresh step in the evolution of God's purposes of salvation for the world. But he was not instructed to distinguish the successive moments in that great vision of salvation which rose before his view. He connected the complete realisation of all the promises to Israel with the Return from Babylon, as his predecessors had connected the establishment of the Messianic kingdom with the deliverance from the Assyrian troubles. As vast ages of the past are concentrated into the vision of successive days in the story of creation, so long ages of the future are foreshortened in a series of pictures which seem to be immediate and simultaneous, until the course of events shews that they represent successive ages of long duration and slow development. The prophet's

language is that of the immediate hopes and circumstances of the time. Jerusalem is regarded as the centre of all the world's worship: to the actual Jerusalem is attached all the vision of glory which fills the prophet's mind with its splendour. But the truths which his words convey reach far beyond the local and material city. They supply much of the language and the imagery which is adopted in the Apocalypse to describe the spiritual Jerusalem; and only in the spiritual city of the perfected church will they find their complete fulfilment.

Once more, in comparing prophecy with fulfilment the *conditional character of prophecy* must be taken into account. How far the nation as a whole was from thorough repentance is evident from the words of the prophet himself. Indeed it seems plain from the later chapters of the book that as the time of deliverance drew near, he saw with increasing clearness that the sin and apathy of the mass of the exiles were a fatal bar to the immediate and complete realisation of all that he had foretold. It was only a fraction of the Israelites in Babylon who had faith to accept the challenge of Cyrus, and return to build the house of God. Those who did return were for the most part, as the pages of Haggai and Zechariah abundantly shew, slack and selfish; slow to realise the great issues which depended on their action, and to draw upon the treasury of divine power which was open to their prayers. The

pages of Nehemiah and Malachi bear witness how soon they fell into graver offences. Thus Israel's failure hindered the free action of divine grace. God could not do His mighty work then because of their unbelief.

Yet shall we think him less a true prophet because the picture of the future which he drew was possibility rather than actuality, the divine ideal (albeit expressed in terms of the circumstances of the time) rather than the reality to which men were capable of attaining?

Nay, surely: for when to human foresight Israel's return was at best uncertain, he predicted it with unwavering confidence. When to human view the return of a few thousands of Jews from Babylon to Judaea must have seemed a matter of absolute indifference, he affirmed that it was fraught with world-wide consequences for the salvation of mankind. When the work of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah seemed to have ended in blank failure, he drew that marvellous portrait of Him in whom Israel's history culminated; who Himself achieved the work in which Israel failed, wrought out salvation for the world, and through death brought life to all mankind. Israel returned; Israel survived; out of Israel came salvation for mankind in Him who is the true representative of Israel. Israel, though she knows it not, is greater in the offspring who trace their spiritual descent to her

than she ever could have been in her isolation. Such a prophecy was not mere human aspiration or bold guesswork, but the voice of the Spirit of God revealing beforehand, as men could receive it, the purpose of the ages. Truly he is the Evangelical Prophet, the herald of the good news of deliverance, not to the Israelites in Babylon only, but to the captives of sin in every age and country. Rightly are these chapters regarded as one of the most precious parts of the Bible, full of meaning as we study them in the light of their origin, fuller still of a larger meaning and a present significance for ourselves as we study them in the light of the revelation of God's eternal purpose of salvation in Christ Jesus.

THE PROPHETS OF THE RESTORATION

HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH

ZECHARIAH IX–XIV ISAIAH XXIV–XXVII

MALACHI

πᾶσα ἡ θεία γραφὴ διδάσκαλός ἐστιν ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀληθοῦς.

All Divine Scripture is a teacher of true virtue and faith.

S. Athanasius.

LECTURE XIV

HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH

Who hath despised the day of small things?—ZECHARIAH iv. 10.

I

The limits of the Exile predicted.

WITH unwavering faith the prophets who watched the ruin of the Temple and the destruction of Jerusalem proclaimed that this catastrophe was not destined to result in a frustration of the divine purpose for the chosen people. Jeremiah, while he foretold the inevitable certainty of the impending judgement, fixed the limits of it. *Thus saith Jehovah: After seventy years be accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform for you My good word, to cause you to return to this place. For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith Jehovah, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you an hereafter and a hope* (Jer. xxix. 10, 11). Ezekiel, as he gazed in spirit from the land of his banishment upon the deserted ruins of the Temple, saw rise before him the vision of a nobler building and a more perfect order of worship.

As surely as he had beheld the departure of the divine glory from the desecrated Temple and city, so surely he beheld its return to dwell in the Holy Place once more (Ezek. xi. 23; xliii. 2 ff.).

The seventy years of the Babylonian supremacy[1] were drawing to their close, when the strains of the greatest poet-prophet of Israel rang out in the ears of the waiting exiles: *Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her time of service is accomplished, that her punishment is accepted; that she hath received of Jehovah's hand double for all her sins* (Isa. xl. 1, 2).

Cyrus the deliverer.

Already the deliverer was in full career of conquest. As Nineveh had fallen before the power of Babylon, so Babylon yielded to the advance of Persia, and Cyrus became supreme monarch in Western Asia.[2] One of his first acts was to issue the proclamation which permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple (Ezra i. 1-3).

[1] Seventy years is named as the duration not of the Exile but of the Babylonian supremacy (Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10). It is obviously a round number, but from the battle of Carchemish (B.C. 605) to the capture of Babylon (B.C. 538) was very nearly seventy years. Only fifty years intervened between the destruction of Jerusalem (586) and the first Return (537).

[2] See above, p. 356. According to the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus recently discovered, "Nabonidus fled, and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting." Nabonidus had rendered himself unpopular by his religious policy, and Cyrus was welcomed by the Babylonian priests and people as a deliverer. The siege ascribed to the reign of Cyrus by Greek and Roman historians really took place in the reign of Darius. See Sayce, *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. v, pp. 144 ff.

This permission was in accordance with his general policy. It is not improbable that he had received help in the conquest of Babylon from the conquered peoples who had been transported thither by the Babylonian kings, and discerning in the presence of such peoples a source of weakness to his empire, he determined to restore them to their old homes. The statement of Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xi. 1, 2) that Cyrus had read the prophecies of Isaiah, and was inspired with an ambition to fulfil them, rests upon no sure foundation, and is probably nothing but that historian's own conjecture. It cannot indeed be either proved or disproved; and it is certainly possible that Cyrus was aware that the Jews in exile regarded him with eager expectation as their appointed deliverer. But even if he was acting unconsciously, he was none the less the chosen instrument of Jehovah for carrying out His purposes of mercy toward His people.

The Return.

The account of the actual circumstances of the Return is disappointingly meagre, and we are left to fill in many details by inference or conjecture. The response to the invitation was by no means universal. But the Return was distinctly a national act. All the families settled in Babylon seem to have taken part in it. With one or two possible exceptions, those who accompanied Ezra eighty years later belonged to the same families as those who followed Zerubbabel. The new community was intended to represent all

Israel. The twelve elders at its head (Neh. vii. 7), and the sacrifice offered for the twelve tribes of Israel at the dedication of the Temple (Ezra vi. 17), were significant of the spirit in which the enterprise was undertaken.

But though most if not all of the families settled in Babylon were represented, the choice of their representatives was no doubt mainly determined by personal faith and zeal. It was those *whose spirit God had stirred* who volunteered for an undertaking which needed no small measure of courage and energy. Many shrank from the effort, and preferred to remain where they were. But they were not by any means all of them uninterested, or indifferent to the success of the movement. They supported it by rich gifts (Ezra i. 6), and from time to time continued to send offerings to Jerusalem (Zech. vi. 9 ff.); and the fact that men like Ezra and Nehemiah could arise among the exiles is proof that diligent study of the Law and generous zeal for the welfare of the nation continued to flourish among the exiles who remained behind.

The leaders of the Return.

The numbers of the returning exiles are precisely given as 42,360 in all, together with 7337 servants, and 200 or 245 singing men and singing women (Ezra ii. 64 f.; Neh. vii. 66 f.). The leaders of the company were Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua (or Jeshua) the son of Jozadak. Zerubbabel, as the actual or legal heir of Jehoiachin, was the representative of the house of David, and had been

appointed governor of Judah by Cyrus (Ezra v. 14).[1] Joshua, who held the office of High Priest, was grandson of Seraiah, the last High Priest who had ministered in the Temple at Jerusalem before its destruction. With them were associated ten colleagues, and this council of twelve elders[2] was doubtless intended to represent, under the altered circumstances of the time, the ancient tribal division of the nation. Zerubbabel and Joshua however were the prominent leaders; of the other ten nothing further is recorded, unless they are to be identified with the *elders of the Jews* mentioned in Ezra v. 5, 9; vi. 7, 8, 14, to whom the satrap Tattenai addressed himself as the responsible authorities of the community at Jerusalem. To the special charge of the new governor were committed the sacred vessels of the Temple which had been carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and were now restored by Cyrus to their proper use.

II

Significance of the Return.

A perilous journey of perhaps four months (cp. Ezra vii. 8, 9) brought the exiles to their ancient home. It may well be imagined that some sense of disappointment depressed their spirits, as they com-

[1] See Note A, p. 435.

[2] The lists in Neh. vii. 7 and 1 Esdras v. 8 agree in giving twelve names. That in Ezra ii. 2 only contains eleven, and no doubt one has been accidentally omitted. The variations in the lists need not be discussed here.

pared the glowing pictures of the prophets with the actual circumstances of their march. Yet to the eye of faith, which could penetrate to the inner meaning of the work in which they were engaged, it must have seemed a triumphal procession, worthy to be accompanied by the most joyous songs of thanksgiving and the loudest Hallelujahs. As we look back upon it in the light of history, we see in it a movement which has shaped the destinies of the world; and we know that the universal joy of nature was not too strong a figure to express its supreme importance. *The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands* (Isa. lv. 12).

Restoration of worship.

The exiles returned from Babylon to found not a kingdom but a Church. If ever Israel had cherished the hope of taking its place among the great powers of the world, as the world measures greatness, that hope had now been shattered utterly and for ever. They returned to found a Church: and their first care, after they had settled themselves in their cities, probably so far as was possible in their ancestral homes, was to restore the worship of Jehovah. In the seventh month of the first year of the Return, *the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem* (Ezra iii. 1). They re-erected the altar of burnt offering in its place, possibly upon its ancient foundation; restored the daily sacrifice, and celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles (Ezra iii. 1-6).

Rebuilding of the Temple.

Without delay they proceeded to take in hand the great object of their mission, the Rebuilding of the Temple. This had been specified in the decree of Cyrus; and for this their countrymen who remained in Babylon had freely contributed their offerings (Ezra i. 2 ff.; vi. 3 ff.). Preparations were made, which seem like a shadowy reflection of Solomon's vast assemblage of workmen and accumulation of materials; and in the second month of the second year of the Return the foundation of the Temple was laid with solemn ceremonial of praise and thanksgiving. The old doxology, *For Jehovah is good, for His mercy endureth for ever toward Israel*, rang out with a new depth of meaning, for it had received a fresh verification from the strange vicissitudes of the people's history. Some however who had seen the house in its former glory wailed aloud as they contrasted these humble beginnings with the ancient magnificence to which their memories fondly clung.[1]

The Samaritan opposition.

The work did not proceed far without opposition. The heathen or half-heathen Samaritans[2] claimed

[1] See Note B, p. 436.

[2] These Samaritans must not of course be confused with the Samaritans of later times. They were the descendants of Assyrian colonists, who had mingled with such Israelites as had been left behind after the deportation of the northern tribes. They combined a corrupt worship of Jehovah as *the God of the land* with their own heathen worship (2 Kings xvii. 24-41). Bodies of such colonists seem to have been settled in Samaria by Sargon, 722-705 (2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.); Esarhaddon, 681-669 (Ezra iv. 2); and Assur-bani-pal, 668-626 (=Osnappar, Ezra iv. 10).

the right to join in it. Their offer was rejected by Zerubbabel and Joshua in council with the chiefs of the people. That rejection has been stigmatised as the act of a narrow and short-sighted ecclesiastical bigotry ; but it is hard to see how the Samaritan offer could have been accepted without at once exposing the small and weak community to the danger of a corrupting idolatry.[1] Irritated by this refusal, the Samaritans adopted an attitude of active hostility. Partly by threats of violence, partly by intrigues at the Persian court (Ezra iv. 4 ff.), they succeeded in their spiteful opposition, and for some fifteen years the work stood still. Of the details of the history of that time we know nothing ; but it may be inferred from the language of Haggai that the stoppage of the work was due at least as much to want of energy on the part of the returned exiles themselves, as to the opposition which they had to encounter. Their courage was daunted by the first show of difficulty ; and care for their own comfort and even luxury diverted their attention from the higher duty. Their own houses were ceiled and panelled, while the house of God still lay in ruins (Haggai i. 4). They excused their apathy by questioning whether the time ap-

[1] It should be noted that although they were compelled to refuse the co-operation of the Samaritans as a body, individuals were not repelled from sharing the religious privileges of the new community. Not only the returned exiles, but "all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land," took part in the dedication of the Temple (Ezra vi. 21).

pointed in the divine counsels for the restoration of the Temple had yet arrived. *The time is not come,* they said, *for Jehovah's house to be built.* Perhaps they satisfied their consciences with the thought that the full term of seventy years had not yet run its course since the destruction of the Temple.

III

Ministry of Haggai and Zechariah.

It was a grave crisis in the history of the community. They were rapidly reconciling themselves to an existence without a Temple: yet existence without a Temple would have meant (humanly speaking) the extinction of the national religion.

The catastrophe was averted by a providential combination of circumstances. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah were raised up to recall the people to the sense of their duty. Drought and famine aroused their consciences, and disposed them to listen to the prophets' message. The recent accession of Darius gave at least a hope of a changed policy on the part of the government.

The extant prophecies of Haggai were delivered within a period of four months, in the sixth, seventh, and ninth months of the second year of the reign of Darius, B.C. 520. Zechariah's first prophecy falls within the same period, in the eighth month of the same year; his great series of visions is dated just two months later than the last of Haggai's utter-

ances; and the last of the prophecies which can be assigned to him with certainty followed after an interval of two years.[1]

Haggai. Haggai's commission was, as we have seen, mainly concerned with the rebuilding of the Temple. His first message (i. 1-11) was addressed to the people through their civil and spiritual leaders, Zerubbabel and Joshua. It was delivered on the first day of the sixth month (*Elul* = Aug.-Sept.), when the people would be assembled for the festival of the New Moon. He censured them for their culpable delay in rebuilding the Temple. They pleaded that the time was not yet come for it; but they could build and decorate houses for themselves, while Jehovah's house still remained in ruins. The drought and scarcity from which they had suffered were the chastisement of their negligence.

The work resumed. The reproof bore fruit. Before the month expired, the work was resumed. The obedience of the people was encouraged by the assurance of the divine co-operation. *I am with you, saith Jehovah,* was the brief but sufficient message which Haggai, *Jehovah's messenger*, was commissioned to deliver (i. 13).

But as when the foundation of the Temple was laid, hope for the future could not efface regret for the past, and the loud wailings of the old men were

[1] The last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah are wholly different in style and character. They appear to be the work of another writer or, more probably, of two writers, and will be considered separately in Lecture XV.

mingled in strange discord with the joyous shouts of the younger and more sanguine, so now there were not wanting pessimists who daunted the spirit of the builders by contrasting the humble beginnings of their work with the magnificence of the former Temple which they could still remember. This new Temple was in their eyes as nothing.

And so, a month after the work had been recommenced, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month (*Tisri* or *Ethānim* = Sept.-Oct.), a fresh message came to Haggai. It was the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and Haggai doubtless spoke publicly to the assembled people. The assurance of the continued Presence of Jehovah and His spirit[1] with them, in fulfilment of the covenant made with the nation at the Exodus, was repeated ; and a prediction was added that through the offerings of the Gentiles the latter glory of the house should be greater than the former. Jehovah would overrule impending convulsions among the nations of the world to effect His purposes, and in that place He would give peace.

Zechariah now came forward to support Haggai ; *Zechariah.*

[1] The meaning of ch. ii. 4, 5 has been obscured by an unfortunate division of the verses. Render, *For I am with you, saith Jehovah of hosts* (*according to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt*), *and my spirit abideth among you : fear ye not.* The clause, *according to the word . . . Egypt*, may be a gloss, for it is omitted by the LXX, and is very loosely attached to the rest of the sentence. But if it is genuine, it must be taken as parenthetical, and we must connect the clauses, *I am with you, . . . and my spirit abideth among you.* With the latter clause cp. Zech. iv. 6.

and appealing to the lessons of history, exhorted the people not to be as their forefathers, who turned a deaf ear to the warnings of the former prophets (Zech. i. 1-6).

On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (*Chislev* = Nov.-Dec.) Haggai spoke again. By the analogy of an instance taken from the ceremonial law he shewed the people how both they and the land had been defiled by neglect of their most pressing duty, and promised them a blessing on their return to it.

The same day he brought a special message to Zerubbabel, the founder of the Temple, assuring him that he, and the community which he represented, were the chosen objects of divine care, and would be preserved unharmed in the midst of the convulsions which would destroy surrounding nations. Zerubbabel is addressed by the lofty title of *Jehovah's servant*. The doom pronounced on Jeconiah (Jer. xxii. 24) is reversed, and Zerubbabel, as the representative of the house of David, is restored to the position of Jehovah's signet ;—His most highly-prized and carefully-guarded possession, in closest contact with its owner, His means of attesting His words and utterances.

IV

Zechariah's visions.

Here the recorded ministry of Haggai ends. Just two months later, upon the twenty-fourth

day of the eleventh month (*Shebat* = Jan.-Feb.), Zechariah saw his great series of visions, directed in the main to enforce the same truths which Haggai had proclaimed.

In the first vision (i. 7-17) he saw Jehovah's messengers, who had traversed the earth, reporting to the angel of Jehovah that the whole earth was at rest; and when the angel interceded for Jerusalem he was answered by the assurance of Jehovah's displeasure at the malicious delight which the heathen had taken in Israel's affliction, and of His jealous love for the people of His choice. The time has come for Temple and city to be rebuilt. *I have returned to Jerusalem in mercy; My house shall be built in it, saith Jehovah of Hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth over Jerusalem. . . . Jehovah shall again comfort Zion, and shall again choose Jerusalem* (i. 16, 17). *(1) The horsemen.*

The scene changed, and four horns of iron, symbols of the powers which had scattered Israel, met the prophet's eye. Beside them stood four smiths—each we may imagine with uplifted hammer—ready to shatter the horns in pieces. So should the nations which had destroyed Israel be themselves destroyed. *(2) The horns and the smiths.*

The vision faded, and in its place appeared a man with a measuring line in his hand, going to measure Jerusalem. But he is told by an angel that his task is futile, for Jerusalem will spread beyond the *(3) The man with the measuring line.*

limit of walls, and will need no such material defences. *For I, saith Jehovah, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and I will be the glory in the midst of her* (ii. 5). Jerusalem is to be the centre of the world's worship, when Jehovah's Presence is manifested in her midst. *Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith Jehovah. And many nations shall join themselves to Jehovah in that day, and they shall be unto Me for a people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee* (ii. 10, 11).

(4) *The trial of Joshua.*

But Israel's present humiliation was in sharpest contrast to that future glory, and comfort for the present distress was urgently needed. Accordingly in the next vision the prophet saw Joshua the High Priest, the people's spiritual representative, arraigned at the bar of heaven, and Satan or the Adversary standing at his right hand to accuse him. His sordid garments marked him as the sinful representative of a sinful people, but the Adversary who demanded his condemnation was sternly rebuked. *Jehovah rebuke thee, O Satan; yea, Jehovah that chooseth Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?* (iii. 2).

The nation which Joshua represented had just been saved by an act of divine grace from being utterly consumed in the furnace of the exile. Was it fitting then that Satan should challenge God's purpose of mercy, and seek to bring Israel's sin to

remembrance? So the sentence of pardon is pronounced. Joshua's filthy garments are exchanged for rich apparel, and a fair mitre is set upon his head, as the outward token of his acceptance. He is promised the right of access among those who stand round the heavenly throne; and he and his companions are declared to be types of One greater than themselves; even the Branch, the Shoot or Sprout from the stock of David, of whom Jeremiah's prophecy had spoken nearly a century before (iii. 4 ff.).[1]

(5) *The golden chandelier.*

Thus Joshua was encouraged in his work of priestly intercession. The next vision (ch. iv) was designed to give similar encouragement to his colleague Zerubbabel. A golden chandelier rose before the prophet's eye. Each of its seven lamps was connected with the central reservoir of oil. Beside it stood two olive trees. From two overhanging branches of the trees, a perpetual supply of oil was distilled into the reservoir. The precise meaning of the details of the vision is obscure;[2] but its general purpose cannot be mistaken. It conveyed Jehovah's message to Zerubbabel, *Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, saith Jehovah of Hosts.* Tattenai either had challenged or was on the point of challenging the Jews to produce their authority for proceeding with the work. An unfavourable answer might come from the Persian court. The enmity of neighbouring nations was always to be feared.

[1] See pp. 317, 187.

[2] See Note D, p. 438.

Zerubbabel's heart may well have quailed at the task before him. But he is assured that there is an unfailing supply of divine grace and strength at hand for the nation; he is taught that there is no need to appeal to worldly power and material force. Every obstacle will be removed. *Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.* He will carry the work to its completion; he shall bring forth the top stone of the temple in the midst of the shouts of joy which invoke the divine favour upon it. It was a *day of small things*, measured by external appearances; but the success of Israel's mission depended not on material force, but on the power of the spirit.

(6) The flying roll.

But restoration would be incomplete indeed without spiritual reformation. Holiness was the aim of Israel's calling, and the land of Israel was to be *the holy land* (ii. 12). Two visions follow, symbolising the attainment of this purpose. The flying roll is the emblem of the curse which goes forth to exterminate sinners; the woman in the ephah borne away to the land of Shinar prefigures the entire removal of the spirit of wickedness, and its banishment to the typical land of unholiness (v. 1-11).

(7) The woman in the ephah.

(8) The four chariots.

Finally, the powers of heaven are seen going forth to execute judgement on the heathen who have rejoiced in the humiliation of God's people (vi. 1-8).

Thus the visions of the seer conveyed a message of

encouragement to the people and their leaders; they held out the assurance that the country should be repeopled, the Temple rebuilt, the land purged from all iniquity, the heathen judged.

The coronation of Joshua.

One symbolical act of deepest significance remained to be done. The prophet was commanded to crown the High Priest Joshua, and declare him to be the type of One greater than himself who was still to come;—the Branch of the house of David; the royal priest, who should build the spiritual temple, of which the material Temple was the figure, and rule in perfect harmony with God, whose representative he would be (vi. 9-15).[1]

For two years Zechariah was silent, and then, in answer to an inquiry whether it was still obligatory to observe the fasts instituted to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem, he directed the attention of his questioners from outward observances to the real substance of Jehovah's demands. He pointed once more to the warnings given by the past history of the nation, and bade them obey the commands which their fathers had disregarded. Reaffirming Jehovah's burning love for His people, he pictured the prosperity in store for them, culminating in the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion as the spiritual centre of the world, and their eagerness for fellowship with Israel, in order that they might share in Israel's fellowship with God (vii, viii).

[1] See Note E, p. 439.

V

Success and importance of the work of Haggai and Zechariah.

The preaching of the two prophets bore the desired fruit. The building of the Temple was carried on with vigour. Tattenai, the Persian governor of the province, challenged their authority; but though he felt it his duty to refer the matter to Darius, he did not think it necessary to interfere with the work. In this the Jews rightly recognised a proof of God's favour. The reference to Darius led to the discovery of the decree of Cyrus in the archives at Ecbatana; and Darius issued a fresh decree directing Tattenai to provide materials for the work, and to furnish the Jews with animals and other requisites for sacrifice. In less than four and a half years from the recommencement of the work the Temple was completed, and dedicated with solemn ceremonies, amid general rejoicings, on the third day of the twelfth month (*Adar* = March-April) in the sixth year of Darius (Ezra vi. 14 ff.).[1]

Haggai has met with rough treatment and scant justice at the hands of critics, who have scornfully stigmatised his plain and unadorned utterances as

[1] It is very probable that Psalms xcv-c were composed for use upon this occasion. The Septuagint titles of xcvi, *When the house was being built after the captivity*, and xcvii, *When the land was being settled*, may preserve a true tradition as to their date. The keynote of these Psalms is taken from Is. lii. 7, *Jehovah hath proclaimed Himself King*. The restoration of Israel was the proclamation of His sovereignty, the dedication of the Temple His re-enthronement in Zion.

thin and meagre. Certainly he is neither orator nor poet like Isaiah ; but the prophet's real importance is not to be measured by the brilliance of his periods. Plain straightforward words of warning, exhortation, and encouragement—*Consider your ways* (i. 5, 7 ; cp. ii. 15, 18): *Be strong, O Zerubbabel . . . be strong, O Joshua . . . be strong, all ye people of the land, and work* (ii. 4) :—the lesson of doing the duty that lies to hand with unwavering faith and steady perseverance in spite of appearances and opposition : these are the substance of Haggai's preaching : and measured by its practical success, the work which he and his colleague Zechariah accomplished was of the first importance.

For it was due under God to their efforts that the rebuilding of the Temple was recommenced and carried to a successful issue. This was a service of incalculable moment. The Temple was the outward symbol of the dwelling of God in the midst of Israel. To let it lie neglected was, alike for themselves and in the sight of the nations around, a practical denial of the truth which gave meaning to their return from exile, the truth which in different forms Haggai and Zechariah are never weary of repeating, that Jehovah had not cast off His people but had in very deed returned to dwell in the city of His choice. The Temple was the necessary centre for the people whose bond of unity must henceforth be their religion. A common place of worship must be the

outward expression of that religious unity, the point to which the heart of the faithful Israelite might turn, even in his remotest land of exile. And yet again; though the destruction of the Temple had closed for ever one volume of Israel's history, the re-erection of it must bear witness to the continuity of that history. The house of Jehovah in Jerusalem was one and the same, though its material form had been altered. The great herald of the Restoration had indeed taught his hearers that no earthly temple could represent the majesty of Him Whose throne is heaven and Whose footstool earth (Isa. lxvi. 1), but the time had not yet come for dispensing with this outward and visible sacrament of God's Presence among His people. Five centuries of preparation had still to pass before the full time came for God to tabernacle in man, and for the needs of that period the Temple was indispensable.

VI

Their universalism.

But if Haggai and Zechariah concentrated their efforts on promoting the rebuilding of the Temple, it was in no narrow spirit of national exclusiveness or religious bigotry. The glory of that Temple was, they predicted, to be its catholicity. They watch the nations bringing their offerings to adorn the Temple, and to make its outward splendour significant of the still greater glory which was in store

for it (Hagg. ii. 7; Zech. vi. 15). They see them, as Isaiah and Micah had seen them, streaming thither to worship Jehovah, and eagerly claiming a share in the privileges of the chosen nation (Zech. ii. 11; viii. 20 ff.). *There* is to be consummated the final reconciliation of man to God and man to man. For to nothing less than this, though the prophet may not have perceived their full import, do the words reach forward, *In this place will I give peace, saith Jehovah of hosts* (Hagg. ii. 9). And dimly shadowed out beyond the material Temple, rises the mysterious outline of a spiritual temple, which the priestly king of David's line will build (Zech. vi. 12, 13).

It is the strangest misconception of the teaching of these prophets to charge them with a heartless and unspiritual formalism. It is abundantly clear that they looked for holiness as the true goal of Israel's training. The Lord's inheritance is to be the holy land; all evil doers and Wickedness itself are to be banished from its boundaries. Again and again the truth is emphasised that moral failure had been the cause of their fathers' rejection, and that obedience to God's moral requirements is the necessary condition of acceptable approach to Him, and of the bestowal of His blessing.

The Messianic Hope.

Hardly second in importance to their practical service in securing the restoration of the Temple, was their work in handing on the torch of Messianic hope under the altered conditions of the time. The

kingdom had passed away. The representative of David's house was only a provincial governor appointed by a foreign power, with no security of office. Yet once again the hope of Israel is directed to the house of David; Zerubbabel is distinguished by the lofty title of *Jehovah's servant*, the object of His choice and care (Hagg. ii. 23); he is invested with an importance far beyond his personal and individual consequence, as the type of One to come.

Side by side with Zerubbabel as the representative of David's line, the high priest as the spiritual representative of the people gains a new prominence. He and his companions are *a sign*. They are a pledge that Jehovah will fulfil His purpose to bring forth His servant the Branch (Zech. iii. 8 ff.). With this promise of the advent of the Messianic king is connected the assurance of the completion of the Temple and the removal of the iniquity of the land. The mysterious stone which is set before Joshua appears to be the top stone of the Temple (cp. iv. 7). It is the object of Jehovah's special care. The connexion of this double assurance with the promise of the coming of the Messiah is explained by ch. vi. 12 ff., where the priestly character of the Messiah is symbolically set forth, and it is predicted that He will build the Temple. As priest, He will make atonement for the sin of the land. But how will He take part in the building of the Temple? Does Zechariah

expect His coming immediately in connexion with present circumstances, or does he already anticipate the building of the spiritual temple of living stones? Probably it was only through the course of events that the spiritual character of the work of the Messiah could be fully realised, but the truth is there in germ.

But further, Joshua is crowned as a type of the Branch, symbolising a royal priest who was yet to come: and thus in his Messianic prophecy Zechariah makes an advance towards the idea of the union of the priestly office with the royal office in the person of the Messiah. In the next lecture I hope to shew that the other prophets whose writings now form part of the Book of Zechariah make other significant advances towards the union of distinct, and as it must have seemed, incompatible, lines of Messianic prophecy. Thus the Book of Zechariah occupies a position of singular importance towards the close of the prophetic period in virtue of its contributions towards a more complete conception of the true character of the Deliverer, for whose coming men were bidden to wait through centuries of trial in patience and faith.

Note A.—Sheshbazzar = Zerubbabel.

It is here assumed that Sheshbazzar (Ezra i. 8, 11; v. 14, 16) is to be identified with Zerubbabel. It has indeed been maintained by some recent critics that Sheshbazzar was

a Persian officer, and that Zerubbabel was not placed in a position of authority as governor until some years had elapsed after the Return. But a comparison of Ezra v. 14, 16 with iii. 8 ff. seems to leave no doubt that the compiler of the Book of Ezra identified Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel, and he would scarcely have styled a foreigner *the Prince of Judah* (i. 8). That Zerubbabel should have had a Persian or Babylonian name is in no way improbable (cp. Dan. i. 7), and that the Hebrew name should be used in the narrative (Ezra v. 2) while the foreign name appears in Tattenai's letter (v. 14, 16) is perfectly natural. The reasons alleged for supposing that the compiler was mistaken in this identification, and has confused the events which took place in B.C. 520 with those which happened immediately after the Return, are not convincing.

Note B.—On the Historical Accuracy of the Narrative in Ezra iii, iv.

In an elaborate article on "The Duration of the Building of the Second Temple" in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1867, pp. 460 ff., Schrader has argued that the Temple was not commenced until B.C. 520. This view has been adopted by many critics, most recently by K. Marti, *Der Prophet Sacharja*, 1892, p. 53. It is urged that Haggai speaks of the foundation of the Temple being laid on the 24th day of the ninth month of the second year of Darius (ii. 18); and that the corresponding account in Ezra (v. 2) describes Zerubbabel and Joshua as then *beginning to build the house of God*. The compiler of the Book of Ezra is supposed to have antedated the commencement of the work in his account in ch. iii, and placed the events of the second year of Darius (B.C. 520) in the second year of the Return. The grounds alleged for supposing that he thus misunderstood his authorities, and

produced an inaccurate and inconsistent narrative are, however, insufficient. The meaning of Haggai ii. 18 is obscure. It is by no means certain that Haggai there identifies the day on which he was speaking with the day on which the Temple was founded. The preposition used (R.V. *since the day*) more naturally implies a *terminus a quo* remote from the day on which he was speaking. But even if it be granted that he does speak of that day as the day on which the foundation of the Temple was laid, his language may perfectly well refer to the resumption of the work. This was, to all practical intents and purposes, the foundation of the Temple. Similarly the language of Ezra v. 2 may be explained, as it usually has been, of the recommencement of the work. Moreover Haggai ii. 3 implies that in the seventh month (two months before the date of ch. ii. 18) the building had already progressed so far that disparaging comparisons could be made between it and the old Temple ; and it is improbable that the laying of the foundation-stone would have been delayed in modern fashion until the walls were beginning to rise.

Note C.—Haggai ii. 7.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark that the personal Messianic reference, to which the rendering of the Vulgate, *veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*, has long given a wide currency, cannot be maintained. The verb *shall come* is in the plural, and the word rendered in the A.V. *the desire* means, as in 1 Sam. ix. 20, *the desirable things* or *choicest treasures*, such as the silver and gold spoken of in *v.* 8 as belonging to Jehovah, and therefore at His disposal for the adornment of the Temple. This tribute of the nations is the outward expression of their recognition of Jehovah, and accordingly the passage may rightly be regarded as having a Messianic reference, though it cannot be understood as a prophecy of the Messiah Himself. Construction and sense are

both illustrated by Isa. lx. 5, to which this passage may very possibly be an allusion. *The abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee.*

The interpretation of the words as *the choicest of the nations* is attractive. It seems to be supported by the verb *come*, and the LXX τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν might be so understood. Similarly in Isa. lx. 5 it is tempting to render *the multitude of the sea* (*i.e.* the countries round the Mediterranean) . . . *the host of the nations.* But the context decides against this interpretation; for *v.* 8 must refer to the treasures mentioned in *v.* 7; and a comparison of Isa. lxi. 6 shews that the *wealth* and not the *host of the nations* is the meaning of the passage in Isaiah. Cp. Zech. xiv. 14.

Note D.—On Zech. iv.

The chandelier must certainly represent the nation of Israel, not the Temple. If the reading of the Massoretic Text in *v.* 2 is retained, the *seven pipes to each of the lamps* (R.V.) symbolise the ample supply of oil conveyed to them. But the Sept. and Vulg. may be right in reading *seven pipes to the lamps.* But what is meant by the *two olive trees* and their *two branches?* The trees are generally explained to mean the Aaronic priesthood and the house of David, the two branches being their present representatives, Joshua and Zerubbabel. They are supposed to be called *the two sons of oil* (*v.* 14), either as being anointed, or as the instruments through whom is ministered the supply of divine grace which enables Israel to fulfil its mission. But *sons of oil* is not a natural paraphrase for *anointed ones;* and the description *that stand by the Lord of the whole earth* would apply more naturally to heavenly beings (cp. iii. 7) than to Joshua and Zerubbabel. The intention of the vision is to represent, by the figure of the perpetual supply of oil furnished to the chandelier, the unfailing supply of Jehovah's strength to

Israel; and it is best to suppose that the interpreting angel avoids giving a *human* meaning to the branches, and intends by *the two sons of oil that stand by the Lord of the whole earth* to suggest the idea of mysterious heavenly ministers of divine grace to Israel. See the note in Perowne's Comm. in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

Note E.—On Zech. vi. 9-15.

The meaning of this important passage has been much disputed, and requires further examination. Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah, had come from Babylon, bearing offerings of gold and silver. Zechariah is bidden to take some of the gold and silver from them, and to make *a crown* or *crowns* of it. Which was he to do? The word ăt̄ārōth rendered *crown* is plural, but it may denote a crown composed of two or more circlets, and is used of a single crown in Job xxxi. 36. Now as only one person is crowned, and the verb *shall be* in *v.* 14 is in the singular, it seems best to render the word in the singular, *crown*. (The object of the verb *set* (*v.* 11) is not expressed in the original. *Them* is supplied in A.V. and R.V.) It has been supposed by some that two crowns were to be placed on the head of Joshua, one representing the priestly, the other the regal dignity; but the crown was not a priestly ornament. Zechariah is to place the crown on the head of Joshua, and to speak to him saying, *Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, Behold, a man whose name is Shoot* [Tsemach], *and he shall shoot up out of his place, and build the temple of Jehovah: yea it is he that shall build the temple of Jehovah, and shall bear majesty; and he shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne; and the counsel of peace shall be between them.*

Jeremiah had applied the term *Tsemach* (E.V. *Branch*) meaning *Shoot* or *Growth*, to the Messiah as the shoot from the stock of David (Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15). Zechariah

takes it up and treats it as a recognised title of the Messianic King. In ch. iii. 8 Joshua and his companions are spoken of as a sign that Jehovah will bring forth His servant *Tsemach*, and fulfil the ancient prophecy of his coming. Here Joshua is crowned as a type of *Tsemach*. Joshua is not himself *Tsemach ;* the title has been definitely appropriated to the Messiah. Obvious reasons would have prevented the coronation of Zerubbabel, which would have seemed more natural. Such an act would have appeared suspicious to the Persian satrap, and however harmless in intention, might have been interpreted as a claim of independence. But the impossibility of crowning Zerubbabel leads to an act of the highest significance. The point of the act lies in its anomalous and exceptional character. It was, however little its full significance may have been understood at the time, a foreshadowing of the future union of the royal and priestly offices in the person of the Messiah. Jeremiah had already taught that the Messianic King would have a priestly right of access to God (Jer. xxx. 21) ; and the present passage offers the conception of the Messiah as a royal priest.

The Shoot will shoot up from his appointed place, as a rod out of the stem of Jesse. He will complete the building of the Temple, fulfilling the prophecy of 2 Sam. vii. 13. He will bear royal majesty—*hōd* is especially used of kingly and divine majesty (1 Chron. xxix. 25). Now, if the words of Jeremiah are rightly understood to mean that the Messianic king will have priestly privileges, is it surprising that Zechariah, whose prophecy is founded on those of Jeremiah, should go further and say, *he shall be a priest upon his throne ?*

But to whom does the pronoun *his* refer ? At first sight it seems simplest to refer it to *Tsemach*. But the interpretation of the next clause will then be involved in serious difficulty. Who are the parties between whom the counsel of peace will be maintained ? "The King and the Priest," answers Delitzsch, "whose dignities and offices the Messiah

unites in His own person. The antagonism and rivalry of the two offices will be removed and vanish in his person, in the king, who is *a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.*" But it is difficult to see how *between them both* can fairly be explained not of two persons, but of two characters or offices united in one person. It is more satisfactory to refer the pronoun *his* to Jehovah. Solomon's throne is called *the throne of Jehovah* (1 Chron. xxix. 23 ; cp. xxviii. 5). Much more might the throne of the ideal theocratic king, the perfect representative of Jehovah, be called Jehovah's throne. But if it is Jehovah's throne upon which this priestly king sits to rule, the difficulty of *v.* 13 *c* disappears. It is Jehovah and the priest-king *Tsemach* between whom there will be *counsel of peace.* Jehovah's perfect representative will rule in entire harmony with Him.

The crown which had been placed on Joshua's head was to be laid up in the Temple as a memorial of the liberality of those who had brought their offerings. It was an earnest of other offerings from *those afar off*, both Jews and Gentiles, who would contribute to the building of the Temple.

If this view of the passage is correct, there is no need to follow Ewald in inserting *and upon the head of Zerubbabel* in *v.* 11 ; and to alter *speak unto him* to *speak unto them.* Such alterations are not emendation but reconstruction of the text ; and in fact the change does not suit the context ; for *v.* 12 distinctly implies the coronation of one person not of two.

LECTURE XV

ZECHARIAH IX–XIV

Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Zion; shout triumphantly, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy King shall come to thee; righteous and saved is He; lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt, the foal of an ass.—ZECHARIAH ix. 9.

I

Critical problems of Zechariah ix-xiv.

THE last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah present critical problems of singular interest and unusual difficulty. When we pass from the eighth chapter to the ninth, it is evident that we have entered a fresh region of thought. The distinctive characteristics of the first part of the book have disappeared. They are replaced by new and equally distinctive characteristics. The differences are great; the resemblances few and unimportant. In the first part of the book the prophet is repeatedly mentioned by name. We are told to whom he is speaking. His utterances are precisely dated. Their object is plain. They have an intimate connexion with the historical circumstances of the age.

Zechariah is emphatically a teacher raised up to meet the peculiar needs of a particular generation. In the second part of the book the author's name is never mentioned. The data for determining his age and the circumstances under which he speaks are uncertain. They elude us by their indefiniteness and baffle us by their inconsistency. The didactic element gives way almost entirely to the apocalyptic. After every allowance has been made for the difference of subject, it seems in the highest degree improbable that these chapters can be the work of Zechariah, the coadjutor of Zerubbabel and Joshua in their great work of rebuilding the Temple.

Two divisions in Zechariah ix–xiv.

But further, these chapters fall into two divisions so dissimilar in style and substance that in spite of an unquestionable connexion between the prophecies as they are at present arranged it seems doubtful if they can be regarded as the work of the same writer. The title at the beginning of the twelfth chapter marks off chapters xii-xiv as a distinct prophecy, and although ch. xiii. 7-9 appears to form the sequel to ch. xi, it is so isolated that it may well be doubted whether it now stands in its original position. For our present purpose, however, it is less important to determine whether these chapters are the work of one author or of two, than to fix, if possible, the period or periods to which they belong. The two parts are so distinct in their characteristics that it will be necessary to examine them separately

for this purpose ; and it will be necessary to do this in some detail, in order to justify the position here assigned to them in the succession of the prophets.

Dates generally assigned to the two divisions.

It has very generally been maintained that internal evidence proves chaps. ix-xi to be the work of a prophet who flourished shortly after the death of Jeroboam II, and was therefore contemporary with Hosea and Isaiah. It has even been proposed to identify him with that Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah, whom Isaiah selected to attest his prophetic message (Isa. viii. 2). Chaps. xii-xiv have been assigned to the period between the death of Josiah at Megiddo in B.C. 609 and the Fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 586. Their author would accordingly have been the contemporary of Habakkuk and Jeremiah. Some critics, however, and critics who have approached the question from widely different points of view, have maintained that these chapters, whether proceeding from one author or two, belong to the age after the Exile. This view seems to me to be the true one. While I am fully conscious of the difficulties, especially with regard to chaps. ix-xi, I believe that it is easier to offer an explanation of the apparent references to pre-exilic circumstances upon the theory of a post-exilic date, than to account for the apparent references to post-exilic circumstances upon the theory of a pre-exilic date.

II

(1) *Chaps. ix xi.* (I) *Indications of a post-exilic date.*

Let us consider first the positive indications in chapters ix-xi which point to a date *after* the Captivity. They are briefly as follows. The exile, not only of Ephraim but of Judah, appears to be presupposed (ix. 11, 12; x. 6-11). Judah has been partly restored to its own land (ix. 9, 11), and is to expect more complete restoration (ix. 12). Ephraim, still in exile, is to be brought back and reunited to Judah (x. 6 ff.). The land of Judah has been overrun by a foreign enemy, and, apparently, the temple has been desecrated (ix. 8). Judah, it would seem, is without a king, and is bidden to rejoice at the approaching advent of the Messianic King (ix. 9). The mention of Greece (ix. 13) I reserve for consideration presently (pp. 454, 476). Further, it is difficult to resist the impression that various parts of the prophecy are dependent upon earlier prophets, especially Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.[1]

(2) *Indications of a pre-exilic date.*

Now let us consider the indications which are thought to point to a date *before* the Captivity. It is urged (*a*) that the references to Ephraim and Judah in chapters ix. 10, 13; xi. 14 distinctly imply that the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, and

[1] Stade in his elaborate essay in the *Z. A. T. W.* for 1881, pp. 1 ff., has damaged his case by overstatement and exaggeration; but he appears to me, in spite of Kuenen's criticism (*Einl.* p. 397), to have made out a strong case for the dependence of ix. 1-8 on Ezek. xxviii. 1-5; of x. 3-12 on Ezek. xxxiv; of xi. 1-17 and xiii. 7-9 on Hos. ii; Jer. xxv. 34-38; xii. 3-5; Ezek. xxxiv. 2-10.

that the relations between Judah and Ephraim were, or had been till recently, friendly: (*b*) that the parable of ch. xi. 4 ff. finds its best explanation in the circumstances of the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II (2 Kings xv. 13 ff.), when Shallum murdered Zechariah after a brief reign of six months, and was himself in turn slain by Menahem, after enjoying the fruits of his treachery for a single month: (*c*) that *the worthless shepherd* (ch. xi. 15 ff.) may best be identified with Menahem or Pekah: (*d*) that the political horizon closely corresponds to that of Amos and Hosea: Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia being threatened (ix. 1-7) as in Amos i. 3-10; Egypt and Assyria being coupled together (x. 10, 11) as in Hos. vii. 11; ix. 3; xi. 11; xii. 1: (*e*) that the closest parallels to the description of the Messianic King in ch. ix. 9 are to be found in Isaiah and Micah: (*f*) that the mention of teraphim and diviners (x. 2) is inconsistent with a date after the Exile, when idolatry and superstition had been eradicated. Other arguments, which rest upon a more or less precarious exegesis, need not be considered here. On the strength of these indications ch. ix is placed towards the close of the reign of Jeroboam II (B.C. 755-749); chaps. x, xi somewhat later, after the hostilities between Israel and Judah in the reign of Ahaz, and the deportation of the northern Israelites to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 734 (2 Kings xv. 29).

Proposed solution.

We have accordingly two sets of indications pointing in opposite directions. How can they best be reconciled? A hypothesis which has recently found considerable favour supposes that in these chapters "really old, pre-exilic fragments are preserved, which for the most part come down from the eighth century B.C., but have been arranged by a post-exilic redactor, and amplified with additions from his own hand."[1] This hypothesis is certainly plausible, and it helps to account for the abrupt transitions which are so perplexing. But it is not satisfactory, and after repeated consideration it seems to me that while the indications of a post-exilic date are clear and definite, and refuse to be explained away, the supposed indications of a pre-exilic date all admit of a reasonable explanation.

Supposed evidence for pre-exilic date examined.

The clue to the solution of the apparent contradictions is to be found in the secondary and apocalyptic character of the whole section.[2] It takes up and reaffirms the prophecies of Amos and Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which look forward to the restoration and reunion of Israel and Judah under

[1] Kuenen, *Einl.* § 81. Compare Prof. Cheyne, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1888, p. 82. Prof. Driver, *Introd. to Lit. of O.T.*[6] p. 349, thinks that "on the whole a post-exilic date for the prophecy is the most probable," and that "it is in part a re-affirmation, in a form adapted to the circumstances of the time, of older promises of victory over foes, restoration of exiles, and the advent of the Messianic age."

[2] Cp. Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, pp. 149 ff.; and for some remarks on the difference between Apocalypse and Prophecy, see Bishop Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 73, n. 3.

the Messianic King, the Prince of the house of David. Its interest is wholly in the future—a future which may in part be still remote. Assuming then for the moment that the standpoint of the writer is post-exilic, and the character of his prophecy apocalyptic, let us see whether the supposed evidence for a pre-exilic date does not vanish upon a careful scrutiny.

Ch. ix. 10, 13. (*a*) The references to Ephraim and Judah in ch. ix. 10, 13 do not necessarily imply that the old kingdoms were still in existence. In ch. ix. 10 the prophet is speaking of the Messianic age. He assumes that the restoration of Ephraim as well as Judah, which the ancient prophets foretold, is an accomplished fact. In accordance with the prophecies of Hosea (ii. 18), of Isaiah (ix. 5 ff.), and of Micah (v. 10 ff.) the Messiah's kingdom will be a kingdom of peace. All the instruments of war will be destroyed from the midst of the restored people. Then, with splendid inconsistency, the prophet describes Judah as Jehovah's bow and Ephraim as His arrow, Zion as His sword and her sons as His spear[1] (ix. 13), in the final conflict which must precede the reign of universal peace.

Ch. xi. 14. The historical reference of ch. xi. 14 is quite uncertain. It can scarcely be said that the relations between Israel and Judah in the middle of the eighth century B.C. were those of *brotherhood*. The words

[1] See Note A, p. 476.

may equally well contain a warning against history repeating itself in a second disruption and a dissolution of the restored brotherhood which the prophet contemplates.

(*b*) The allegory of ch. xi. 4 ff. is far too obscure of interpretation to allow of any argument being based upon it. It is at least as reasonable to explain it as a symbolical prediction of the rejection of a divinely-appointed ruler by an ungrateful people as it is to treat it as a symbolical account of historical events. Of course it may be admitted, even upon the hypothesis of a post-exilic date, that some of the features in the picture may have been suggested by the history of the Northern Kingdom. *Ch. xi. 4 ff.*

(*c*) Here, too, the same remarks will apply. The identification of the worthless shepherd with Pekah or Menahem is precarious. The argument is not one which can be pressed. *Ch. xi. 15–17.*

(*d*) It is true that Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia are among the nations threatened by Amos; but his outlook is much wider; and there is a special reason for the mention of these particular nations here, with the significant addition of Hamath, which is not included by Amos. They are just the nations which came within the limits of the Promised Land, *from the wilderness to the river Euphrates* (Exod. xxiii. 31; cp. 1 Kings iv. 24, viii. 65, where note *from the entering in of Hamath*). *Ch. ix. 1–7*

These nations must be destroyed, or reduced to a

condition of friendly dependence, as a preliminary to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom, which will include their territories, *from the River to the ends of the earth* (ix. 10). Egypt and Assyria are not mentioned as present enemies; but they are naturally mentioned in connexion with Ephraim's restoration (x. 10), exactly as Hosea had mentioned them in connexion with Ephraim's captivity. Assyria was the actual, Egypt the typical, land of bondage; and if the language of *v.* 11 may seem to imply that the Assyrian empire was still standing, it must be remembered that the term *Assyria* is used both for Babylon (Lam. v. 6) and for Persia (Ezra vi. 22), as the successors to the power and territories of Assyria.

Ch. ix. 9. (*e*) It will be seen, when we come to consider the characteristics of the Messianic King, that the portrait here drawn differs in significant features from that of the pre-exilic prophets, and really forms a strong argument for the post-exilic date.

Ch. x. 2 (*f*) The reference in ch. x. 2 to teraphim and diviners is best understood as a reference to past history, and not to the circumstances of the prophet's own time. But even if it is so taken, we know from Malachi that sorcery was prevalent in his day (iii. 5); it is scarcely conceivable that the mixed marriages which Nehemiah so fiercely denounced did not introduce Philistine superstitions (Neh. xiii. 23 ff.);[1] and

[1] If the Philistine *meonĕnîm* (Isa. ii. 6) were really *cloud-compellers* or rain-makers, there would be a remarkable link of connexion

Josephus gives an elaborate account of the practices of exorcism in his own time (*Ant.* viii. 2, 5).

Preponderance of evidence for post-exilic date.

Thus, then, the indications which have been supposed to prove the pre-exilic date of these chapters are partly inconclusive, partly capable of an explanation consistent with the post-exilic date. If this is so, the positive references to the Captivity and to the partial restoration of Judah may be allowed their full weight, and we may decide in favour of fixing the date of these chapters in the period after the Return from Babylon. Undoubtedly the prophecy bears a striking resemblance to the earlier prophets, but this may be accounted for by the author's familiarity with the writings of his predecessors. But he is no mere servile plagiarist. He has a commission to reaffirm the old hopes under new circumstances, and to add warnings of no trifling significance.

III

(ii) Chaps. xii–xiv. (1) Arguments for a date between B.C. *609 and* B.C. *586.*

We pass on to consider the date of the second division (chaps. xii-xiv). The Northern Kingdom has entirely disappeared from view. All the interest centres in Judah and Jerusalem. If *the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon* (xii. 11) refers, as is generally supposed, to the national mourning for the death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo

with the present passage, where the point is that Jehovah sends the rain which incantations cannot procure. Cp. Jer. xiv. 22. But the derivation is doubtful.

(2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25), the prophecy must be referred to a date subsequent to B.C. 609. It is commonly argued (*a*) that the way in which this mourning is spoken of indicates that it was still fresh in the popular recollection: (*b*) that the references to *the house of David* (xii. 7, 8, 10, 12; xiii. 1) imply that the kingdom of Judah was still in existence: (*c*) that the allusions to the earthquake in the days of Uzziah (xiv. 5) and to the extirpation of idolatry and false prophecy point to the time before the Exile: (*d*) that the predictions of the siege and capture of Jerusalem (xii. 2 ff.; xiv. 1 ff.) refer to the impending destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (B.C. 586). On these grounds the prophecy has been assigned to the period between the death of Josiah and the destruction of Jerusalem. Supposed allusions to the hostility of Egypt in the reigns of Josiah and Jehoiakim (xiv. 18), to the persecution of the prophets by Manasseh, or the murder of Uriah by Jehoiakim (xii. 10), and to a king of Judah, possibly Josiah (xiii. 7), are far too precarious to be taken into account.

(2) *The arguments examined.*

But it is very doubtful whether these arguments will bear examination. (*a*) The interpretation of ch. xii. 11 is uncertain, but if it does refer to Josiah, it must be remembered that the tragic fate of the last good king of Judah, and the popular grief for his death, long excited an especial interest. It is in the later history of Chronicles, not in

Kings, that the account of the mourning for him is given. (*b*) There is no explicit reference to a king, and though parallels to the expression *house of David* are found in Isa. vii. 2, 13; Jer. xxi. 12, the mention of the house of David in xii. 12 ff. by the side of the house of Levi suggests rather the position of co-ordinate pre-eminence which it held after the Exile than that of absolute supremacy as the reigning house. (*c*) The allusion to the earthquake cannot be pressed. In any case it was too remote for personal reminiscence; and it may be questioned whether the touch of expression which seems to treat it as comparatively recent (*as ye fled*) does not rest upon a wrong reading.[1] The prediction of the final extirpation of idolatry appears to be a repetition of Hosea's prediction (ii. 17), and does not necessarily imply the prevalence of idolatry, while false prophets were, as we know from Nehemiah (vi. 10 ff.), by no means limited to the period before the Exile.

On the other hand, it is at least doubtful whether the house of Levi would have been placed, as it is here, by the side of the house of David before the Exile; it seems certain that the author draws largely from earlier prophets, especially Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix;[2] and the apocalyptic character of the prophecy points to a late rather than an early date. We have only

[1] See Note B, p. 477.

[2] Kuenen, who disputes Stade's conclusions as to chaps. ix-xi, admits that he has proved the dependence of chaps. xii-xiv on earlier prophets, "though not without some exaggeration."

to contrast Jeremiah's predictions uttered on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans with these generalised predictions of a final muster of the heathen against the city of God, in order to feel the entire dissimilarity between them.

Chs. ix–xi and xii–xiv, both post-exilic but by different authors.

If then we may adopt the conclusion that chaps. ix-xiv all belong to the period after the Exile, can we go further and (1) decide whether they are the work of one writer or of two; and (2) ascertain more precisely the date or dates to which they are to be assigned?

(1) The balance of probability seems to me in favour of assigning these chapters to two authors. The argument from style and subject-matter is undoubtedly precarious, but chaps. xii-xiv appear to be distinguished from chaps. ix-xi by characteristics of style and contents at least as marked as those which distinguish chaps. ix-xiv as a whole from chaps. i-viii.

Precise date in the post-exilic period uncertain.

(2) To the second question it is impossible to give a definite answer. It has been suggested that ch. ix. 1 ff. was written in view of Alexander the Great's march southward after the battle of Issus (B.C. 332), and that we here obtain a clue to the date. But the passage contains no distinct reference to the Greek period, and no secure inference can be drawn from a mere conjecture. Of more weight would be the mention of *the sons of Greece* in ch. ix. 13, if we could be certain that the text is sound. It would seem to imply the existence of the Graeco-Macedonian empire, if Greece is spoken of as the great enemy

which the restored Israel has to confront, and so to bring the prophecy down to the time of Alexander the Great at the earliest.[1] But the reference is an isolated one; nothing else in the prophecy seems to point to so late a date, and I cannot help feeling that there is a strong probability that the words *against thy sons, O Greece,* are a gloss or interpolation added in the Maccabaean age.[2] Stade (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1882, p. 305) comes to the conclusion that these chapters, which he assigns to one author, were written between B.C. 306 and B.C. 278; but his arguments seem insufficient to establish either the unity of authorship or so late a date.

In so difficult a question it is necessary to speak with hesitation; but at present it seems to me that these chapters belong to the same class of apocalyptic-eschatological prophecy as Isaiah xxiv-xxvii, and may with considerable probability be assigned to the same period, the first sixty or seventy years after the Return. In this case they stand in their right position between Zechariah and Malachi. For our present purpose this will be sufficient; and though it seems most probable that they are the work of two writers, there are links of connexion which will make it convenient to treat them together in examining their distinctive teaching.

How came these chapters to be appended to the

[1] So Driver, *Lit. of O.T.*[6] p. 350, "not earlier than B.C. 333."

[2] See Note A, p. 476.

Position of these prophecies.

Book of Zechariah if they were by a different author or authors? The clue to an answer to this question is to be found in the similarity of the titles prefixed to these two prophecies and to the Book of Malachi.[1] It has been conjectured with much probability that these three pieces came into the hand of the editor of the collection of the Minor Prophets as anonymous writings. He appended them at the close of his volume, and prefixed to the second (Zech. xii. 1) and third (Mal. i. 1) titles imitated from that which he found, partly or altogether, prefixed to the first (Zech. ix. 1); and supposing that Malachi iii. 1 might contain the author's name,[2] he added it to the title. Hence "Malachi" was treated as a separate book, while the anonymous pieces which followed the Book of Zechariah came in time to be regarded as part of it, and attributed to the pen of Zechariah.

IV

Analysis of Zechariah ix-xiv.

Before proceeding to consider the characteristic doctrines of these prophecies, it will be well to give an outline of their contents. This, it is hoped, will illustrate and confirm the view which has been taken of their date, and prepare for the consideration of their teachings.

[1] *An utterance of Jehovah's word upon the land of Hadrach* (Zech. ix. 1): *an utterance of Jehovah's word concerning Israel* (xii. 1): *an utterance of Jehovah's word to Israel by Malachi* (Mal. i. 1).

[2] The Heb. word for "my messenger" is *Mal'ākhī*.

(i) *Chaps. ix–xi.*
(a) *ix. 1–8.*

The first section (ix. 1-8) announces that the nations which dwell within the promised boundaries of Israel's land (Exod. xxiii. 31) must be destroyed, or reduced to a position of friendly dependence. Jehovah's providence is guiding the course of the world's history with special regard to the destiny of His own people.[1] His doom falls upon Damascus and Hamath. The wisdom of Zidon, the strength and wealth of Tyre, cannot avail to save them. The judgement sweeps southward. The cities of Philistia are terror-stricken. Gaza loses her independence. Ashkelon is deserted. The purified remnant which is left is converted to the worship of Jehovah, and lives in friendly if subordinate association with Judah, like the Jebusites of old.[2] Jehovah will protect His own people; enemies shall no more invade their land (ix. 1-8).

(b) *ix. 9–x. 2.*

Thus the way is prepared for the advent of the Messianic King. Zion is bidden to welcome Him as He comes, victorious after suffering, in the garb of peace. He destroys the implements of war,[3] which are no longer needed, from the midst of the reunited nation, proclaims universal peace, and rules over the full extent of the Promised Land. Words of comfort

[1] Render *v.* 1 with R.V. marg., *Jehovah hath an eye upon men and upon all the tribes of Israel.*

[2] Perhaps we should read, by a simple change of vowel points, *thousand* for *chieftain* in *v.* 7. Cp. Mic. v. 2.

[3] Read perhaps, with the LXX, in ix. 10, *and he shall cut off the chariot*, for *and I will cut off the chariot.*

are addressed to Zion. In virtue of the covenant sealed by sacrifice (Exod. xxiv. 8) her children have already been in part restored from the cheerless dungeon of exile. Those who are still prisoners, hoping for release, are bidden to return ; and a double recompence is promised them. Yet conflict must precede the final peace. Judah will be Jehovah's bow and Ephraim His arrow, Zion His sword and her sons His spear.[1] He will Himself appear to lead them to victory. Triumphantly they vanquish their foes. He re-establishes them in their own land. Plenty and prosperity make their youths strong and their maidens beautiful (9-17). The fertility of the land is Jehovah's bounty ; to Him let them turn with prayer for its continuance. Idols and diviners have proved a delusion ; it is because they sought help from them that Israel has been scattered like an unshepherded flock (x. 1, 2). Nay, worse, it has fallen into the hands of false shepherds.

(c) *x. 3–12.* But the day of retribution for these tyrants has come.[2] Jehovah has visited His people. He will appoint them new rulers, under whose guidance

[1] See Note A, p. 476.

[2] *The shepherds and he-goats* of x. 3 are commonly taken to mean bad native rulers. But it gives a better sense to understand the words of foreign tyrants, here and in xi. 3. That this meaning is possible is clear from Jer. xxv. 34 ff., which the prophet certainly has in his mind. *From him* in x. 4 may mean *from Jehovah*, as the source of authority (cp. Hos. viii. 4 ; Jer. xxiii. 1-4) ; but it seems preferable to suppose that it means *from Judah*, and that it is an echo of Jer. xxx. 21. Native rulers will take the place of alien oppressors.

they will discomfit their foes. Judah will be strengthened; Israel will be restored from exile. The sea of calamity will be divided, like the Red Sea of old. Assyria and Egypt will be humbled. Jehovah will be Israel's strength, and Israel will order its life in accordance with His revealed will (x. 3-12).

(d) *xi. 1–3.* With ch. xi a fresh prophecy opens. A forest fire devours the cedars of Lebanon; a crashing storm lays low the oaks of Bashan. In other words, the rulers and potentates of the nations are swept down by the storm of war. The rulers are heard lamenting the loss of their magnificence; the potentates mourning for the destruction of their strongholds (1-3).[1]

(e) *xi. 4–14.* In this crisis the prophet receives a commission from God to feed "the flock of the slaughter," which has been so barbarously maltreated by its rulers; for a pitiless judgement is coming upon the earth, in which nations will be sacrificed to the arbitrary ambition of their rulers.[2]

The prophet enters on his task, and takes as the insignia of his office two staves, to which he gives

[1] These verses are commonly explained to refer to the unworthy leaders of Israel. But Jer. xxv. 34 ff., on which it appears to be based, refers to the judgement of the nations, and this seems to be the right explanation here.

[2] In xi. 6 for *the land* render *the earth*, and for *his neighbour's hand* read, by a simple change of vowel points, *his shepherd's hand*. The judgement is apparently identical with the war figuratively described in *vv.* 1-3.

the names of *Graciousness* and *Union*, to signify the gracious care of God for His people and the union of Judah and Israel. He deposes evil rulers; but the ungrateful people grow weary of his rule, and he leaves them to their fate. Contemptuously they give him for his hire the sum fixed as compensation for a common slave; and in token that he is acting as Jehovah's representative he puts it into the Temple treasury. He breaks his staves, as a sign that Jehovah's protection is at an end and that the brotherhood between Judah and Israel is dissolved (4-14). The whole passage is an allegory, describing the rejection of the divinely-appointed Good Shepherd by His ungrateful flock, and the fatal consequences to the flock.

(*f*) *xi. 15–17.* But stern judgement is in store for the guilty people. The prophet is bidden to assume the character of a worthless shepherd, in token that they will fall into the hands of a cruel ruler, who will make havoc of them for his own advantage and will eventually meet with a just retribution (15-17).[1]

V

(*ii*) *Chaps. xii–xiv.* (*a*) *xii. 1–xiii. 6.* Ch. xii is distinguished by its title as the commencement of a separate prophecy. We are intro-

[1] In *v.* 17, for *sword*, which does not agree with the next clauses, read, by a simple change of vowel points, *burning heat* (as in Job xxx. 30). *Burning heat be upon his arm, and upon his right eye: let his arm be clean shrivelled up, and his right eye be utterly dimmed.*

duced to fresh scenery and different circumstances. The nations are seen mustering to fight against Jerusalem; but Jerusalem will be to them *a bowl of reeling* and *a burdensome stone;* they will gain nothing but confusion and injury to themselves. Judah at first appears in the hostile ranks; but while Jehovah smites the horses of the peoples with blindness, He opens His eyes upon Judah. They recognise their error, and, turning against their allies, destroy the enemies of Jerusalem. Jerusalem will not only be delivered, but it will turn to Jehovah in mourning, sincere and universal, for having rejected Him and slain Him in the person of His representative. A fountain of cleansing will be opened for them. The very names of idols will be abolished. False prophets will be cut off. Nay, the pretender will be slain by his own parents in their righteous zeal for truth (xii. 1–xiii. 6).

With xiii. 7 a new section begins, which appears to be at once the sequel of the allegory in ch. xi and the key to the cause of the people's mourning in ch. xii. Why it stands here is an unsolved enigma. The sword is summoned to smite the divinely-appointed shepherd of the people. In other words, the ungrateful nation is to be punished by the removal of the faithful ruler. Two-thirds of the people will perish. The remainder will be purified by trial, until they once more deserve the name of Jehovah's people and acknowledge Him as their God (xiii. 7-9). (*b*) *xiii. 7–9.*

(c) *xiv. 1–11.* Finally, the book closes with the vision of a great day of judgement and redemption. Jehovah gathers the nations against Jerusalem; the city is taken and plundered; half of its inhabitants are carried away into captivity. Then Jehovah comes forth to battle against the nations, and at the touch of His feet the Mount of Olives is cleft asunder. He comes with His attendant angels in a weird day of gloom[1] which ends in light. From Jerusalem shall go forth an unfailing stream of living waters to fertilise the land. Jehovah will be undisputed King. Jerusalem will be exalted in the midst of a vast plain, rebuilt in its old extent, and once more securely inhabited. There will be no more curse or ban (1-11).

(d) *xiv. 12–15.* Meanwhile horrible plagues have overtaken the nations which fought against Jerusalem. They have perished by internecine warfare and by the hands of Judah's warriors (12-15).

(e) *xiv. 16–21.* But the survivors of the nations will come year by year to worship Jehovah at Jerusalem. There will no longer be any need to distinguish between things sacred and profane, for all things alike will be consecrated to Jehovah. The ungodly and profane will no more enter the Temple (16-21).

[1] In xiv. 6 read, with R.V. marg., *there shall not be light, the bright ones shall contract themselves:* i.e. sun, moon, and stars are darkened. Cp. Joel ii. 10.

VI

Distinctive ideas of Zechariah ix-xiv.

The distinctive ideas of Zech. ix-xiv may be grouped under the heads of—(1) the Messianic King; (2) the rejected shepherd; (3) the restored and penitent people; (4) the divine sovereignty.

(1) The Messianic King, ch. ix. 9, 10.

(1) The familiar passage which predicts the advent of the Messianic King requires careful consideration.

> *Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Zion;*
> *Shout triumphantly, O daughter of Jerusalem:*
> *Behold thy King shall come to thee;*
> *Righteous and saved is He;*
> *Lowly, and riding upon an ass,*
> *Even upon a colt, the foal of an ass.*
> *And He shall cut off*[1] *the chariot from Ephraim,*
> *And the horse from Jerusalem,*
> *And the battle bow shall be cut off;*
> *And He shall proclaim peace unto the nations:*
> *And His dominion shall be from sea to sea,*
> *And from the River unto the ends of the earth.*

In days when Zion had no king, if we are right in assigning this prophecy to the post-exilic period, the prophet, in the inspiration of unshaken faith, reiterates the promises of his predecessors. While in the course of divine judgement *the king perishes from Gaza* (ix. 5), Zion's King shall come to her. He comes as the Prince of Peace. The features of the

[1] So the LXX for *I will cut off*.

portrait are repeated from Isaiah and Micah, but with significant differences. He is *righteous;* for as righteousness is an essential attribute of Jehovah, so it must be an attribute of that king who is His true representative, and of the age in which His will is to be realised. *Jehovah is our righteousness* is the name alike of the Messianic King and of the redeemed city (Jer. xxiii. 6; xxxiii. 16). And He is *saved,* or, *given the victory.*[1] As Israel is a people *saved by Jehovah* (Deut. xxxiii. 29), so Israel's King comes to her victorious over all His enemies by Jehovah's help (Ps. cxliv. 10). By that deliverance Jehovah publicly attests His righteousness in the sight of the world. But—strange paradox!—this victorious King is *lowly.* Literally the word means *afflicted;* but it is used of one who has passed through the school of suffering, and learnt in it the lesson of humility, and it may fairly be rendered *lowly.* He comes in the guise of peace, riding, not upon a horse, which would have been suggestive of war and worldly power (cp. x. 5), but upon an ass, the animal ordinarily used even by kings and princes in time of peace. It is a colt, unused before, and therefore fit for the sacred service of bearing Jehovah's representative. The purpose of His advent is to destroy the implements and furniture of

[1] The participle is passive, and cannot be rendered actively as in the ancient versions. *Having salvation* (A.V. and R.V.) is ambiguous. Contrast Isa. xlv. 21 (*a God who is righteous and a saviour*) where the active participle of the same verb is used.

war from the reunited nation over which He is to rule in the full extent of the Promised Land (Exod. xxiii. 31), and to proclaim peace to all the nations. It is not wholly clear whether the prophet regards the war of which he speaks in ix. 13 ff. as preceding and preparing the way for the advent of the King, or whether he foresees that even the Prince of Peace must fight before He can secure the peace which it is His purpose to establish, and can settle His people in undisturbed security in their land. But peace is the true note of His rule; it is put in the forefront as the final purpose of His coming.

In the main the prophet repeats the picture drawn by his predecessors, but the new features which he introduces are significant. All that is implied in the words *saved* and *lowly* is fresh. They speak of triumph through suffering, and sum up in brief the ideas connected with the suffering Servant of Jehovah described by the Isaiah of the Exile (p. 395). That new revelation of the way in which God's purposes of redemption were to be worked out has modified the expectation of the Messianic King. It may be uncertain whether the prophet himself foresaw that the parallel lines of prophecy of the triumphant King and the suffering Servant were destined ultimately to meet and be fulfilled in one Person; but it is clear that he was guided by the Spirit to give a new turn to the hope of Israel

which might guide thoughtful minds in Israel to welcome as their King Him who came in lowliest guise as a servant.

(2) The rejected shepherd, ch. xi. 4–17; xiii. 1–9.

(2) Jeremiah had prophesied of the divine judgement which was to be executed upon the faithless shepherds of Israel, a term which includes not kings only, but all the ruling and leading classes —kings, princes, priests, prophets—to whom the charge and oversight of the people was committed. He had promised that Jehovah would raise up faithful shepherds in the time of the restoration of Israel, and, in particular, the righteous Shoot of the house of David (Jer. xxiii. 1-8).

Ezekiel in the land of exile had echoed the same warning and the same promise. The selfish shepherds who cared only for their own interests must be punished, and in their place Jehovah *will set up one shepherd*, even His servant David (Ezek. xxxiv; xxxvii. 24 ff.).

These prophecies lie in the background of ch. xi, and it is necessary to bear them in mind in order to understand this difficult passage. As in ch. ix the prophet resumes with significant modifications the earlier prophecies of the Messianic King, so here he resumes the earlier prophecies of the true Shepherd, in a form which was a most pregnant warning to his countrymen. The warning is thrown into the form of a parable or allegory, which sets forth the divine purpose for Israel, and its frustration

by the wilful and contemptuous ingratitude of the people.

At Jehovah's command, and as His representative, the prophet takes charge of the flock which has been so cruelly neglected and maltreated by those who were responsible for its care. The impending judgement upon the inhabitants of the world, in which nations will be sacrificed to the ambition and caprice of their rulers, makes this the more necessary. As the insignia of his office, the prophet takes two pastoral staves. One he names *Graciousness*,[1] to signify Jehovah's goodwill towards His people; the other he names *Union* (lit. *Binders*), to indicate the reunion of Judah and Israel. As speedily as possible he removes the three faithless shepherds. It is unnecessary to attach a precise meaning to the three shepherds, and interpret them to mean the three leading classes of kings, prophets, and priests; or the three world-kingdoms; or some three particular oppressors of Israel, such as Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius. They are a part of the furniture of the allegory, and their removal by the prophet within a month is intended to signify God's intention to deal promptly and effectually with the oppressors of His people, whoever they may be. But His purpose is frustrated by the wilfulness of the people. The prophet-

[1] Or, *Pleasantness:* the gracious kindliness of Jehovah. Cp. Ps. xxvii. 4; xc. 17.

shepherd's soul was vexed with their obstinacy, and their soul also loathed him. He determines to leave them to their fate, as they deserved. He breaks the staff *Graciousness* in token that the covenant which had been made with all the peoples not to injure Israel was annulled. These *most miserable of sheep knew of a truth*,[1] as they observed their shepherd's action, that he was only obeying the divine command. But they refused to take warning. When he asks whether they wish him to give up or retain his charge, they bid him go, and in evident contempt weigh out to him the thirty pieces of silver which were the legal compensation for an injured slave (Exod. xxi. 32). By divine command he casts them into the Temple treasury,[2] intimating thereby in the most public manner that the insult was not offered to him so much as to his master Jehovah, Whose representative they had thus contumeliously rejected (cp. 1 Sam. viii. 7). His service at an end, he breaks his

[1] There does not seem to be any ground for supposing that either in *v.* 7 or in *v.* 11 a faithful minority are spoken of as *the poor of the flock*. If the text is sound, the flock destined by its owners for the slaughter is described as *the most miserable of sheep*. The mention of their miserable condition emphasises their folly in rejecting the good shepherd. But the text is suspicious, and the LXX suggests that we should read in *v.* 7, *So I fed the flock of slaughter for them that made merchandise of it:* and in *v.* 11, *So they that made merchandise of the flock knew*, etc.

[2] This rendering, which is supported by the Syriac Version, gives an intelligible sense. No satisfactory explanation of *cast it unto the potter* can be given.

second staff *Union*, in token of the dissolution of the union between Judah and Israel which would follow upon their rejection of the divinely-appointed ruler.

A second act in the allegory follows. The prophet is commanded to assume the character of *a foolish shepherd*, in token that, as a judgement upon these misguided sheep who refuse their true shepherd, Jehovah will not merely leave them to themselves, but abandon them to the pitiless cruelties of a worthless shepherd, who, nevertheless, in the end will not escape the retribution he deserves.

The prophet's message is clearly conveyed in the form of an allegory. It is not necessary to suppose that the prophet actually personated the good and the bad shepherd, any more than it is to suppose that Jeremiah presented the cup of Jehovah's wrath against the nations before his auditors in some visible form (xxv. 17). It was, no doubt, common for the prophets to use symbolical action, but it is difficult to see how some of the features of this transaction could have been actually represented, and it is best to regard the whole as simply an allegory or parable.

It is a solemn warning of the way in which divine grace may be frustrated by human obstinacy. The truth which it conveys had been abundantly illustrated in the past history of Israel. It was to receive a more terrible illustration in the subsequent history of the nation. What may have been to the prophet's mind the precise connexion between this prophecy

and the one which precedes is obscure. Very probably they were written at a wide interval of time, and under wholly different circumstances. Perhaps he did not intend to place the rejection of the Good Shepherd in any precise chronological relation to the advent of the Messianic King and the reunion of Judah and Ephraim. But its significance cannot be mistaken. By the side of the splendid promises of chaps. ix and x he is taught to set this solemn warning that even in the age to come Israel might choose the evil and refuse the good, and frustrate the fulfilment of the promise.

Ch. xiii. 7–9. A third and concluding act in the tragedy still remains. Strangely isolated as these verses are where they now stand, it cannot be doubted that *vv.* 7-9 of ch. xiii must be read in connexion with the allegory which we have been considering. For a judgement upon the guilty people the sword is summoned to smite the good shepherd. The consequence of his death is the dispersion of the flock. Yet in the midst of calamity a remnant is preserved; it is refined in the fire of trial, and finally brought once more into covenant-relation with Jehovah.

It has been suggested that these verses originally formed the conclusion of ch. xi, and should be restored to that position. Whether this is done or not, it is clear that they must be taken in connexion with that chapter. Their present position is an unexplained enigma. But they cannot refer to the

judgement upon the worthless shepherd. It is inconceivable that Jehovah should call him *My shepherd, and the man that is My fellow.* Does the prophet then see the good shepherd prematurely slain in battle, like Josiah at Megiddo, or does he foresee that the people will crown the ingratitude which has already rejected him by murdering their deliverer? The words in themselves give no answer to the question. But it is hard not to see in them the key to the obscure allusion in ch. xii. 10 ff. to the murder for which the penitent nation must mourn. And thus the prophecy of the Good Shepherd, like that of the Messianic King, is linked with that of the suffering Servant in Isa. liii. The murder, which is the guilty nation's sin, and by which it brings to pass its own punishment, is in its other aspect an atoning sacrifice, accomplishing the divine purpose of redemption (Isa. liii. 10).

(3) The restored and penitent people.

(3) The ninth and tenth chapters foretell the restoration and reunion of Israel and Judah. The eleventh chapter appears to sound a note of warning, that through the obstinate folly of the people that brotherhood might again be dissolved and the nation subjected to long and severe chastisements. In chaps. xii-xiv the scene changes. Jerusalem is the centre of interest. Resuming the prophecies of Ezekiel, the writer tells of the final muster of all the nations of the earth for one desperate effort to destroy the city of God. In one act of the drama they appear to be

triumphantly repulsed (ch. xii. 2 ff.); in the other Jerusalem is captured and plundered (xiv. 2). Then and not till then does Jehovah Himself interpose (xiv. 3). But in both cases the ultimate result is the same. Her assailants are discomfited and destroyed. But the day of Jerusalem's deliverance is a day of national mourning. Jerusalem is not only to be outwardly delivered but to be inwardly cleansed. Repentance is the condition of cleansing, and it is brought about by a special outpouring of divine grace. *And it shall come to pass in that day, that . . . I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, a spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look unto Me, even him whom they thrust through; and they shall lament for him, as men lament for an only son, and mourn bitterly for him, as men mourn bitterly for the firstborn* (xii. 10). As the text stands,[1] the words can have but one meaning, startling as that meaning is. It is Jehovah who has been thrust through and slain in the person of His representative. In the guilt of this murder all the nation has participated, and for

[1] The difficulty of the text is very great. Could the prophet have spoken of *thrusting Jehovah through?* The construction, too, is anomalous, and excites suspicion. It has been conjectured that we should read *they shall look unto him whom they thrust through.* The change is easy; it is supported by some MSS., and seems to be required by the next clause. But all the versions attest the reading *unto me.* Some MSS. of the LXX indeed have εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, *unto him whom they pierced;* but this reading is probably derived from St. John xix. 37.

it the whole nation must mourn with a solemn and universal mourning, in which all take part. The house of David with its subordinate branches, of which the family of Nathan is instanced as one, and the house of Levi with its subordinate branches, of which the family of the Shimeites is instanced as one, set the example to the whole nation. This penitence is the fruit of the spirit which has been poured out upon them; and the divine response to this penitence is the opening of a cleansing fountain for sin and for impurity (xiii. 1). The ceremonial law provided from time to time lustrations for those who were defiled by touching the dead (Num. xix), but here shall be a perennial fountain, ever open to cleanse away this guilt of murder and all sin. Idolatry and false prophecy will be finally and entirely eradicated from the land (xiii. 2 ff.).

But who, we ask, is it for whose murder the nation needs an atonement? The passage as it stands is an unsolved enigma. Must we not, as has already been suggested, find the key to its solution in ch. xiii. 7-9? whether we assume that these verses originally preceded, and for some unknown reason have been transferred from their original position at the close of ch. xi; or that the prophet, with the crime in full view in his own mind, does not interrupt his narrative in order to explain, and only returns afterwards to give the needful clue when he has completed his vision of the future.

(4) The divine sovereignty.

(4) It may be questioned whether the prophet intended ch. xiv to be understood as parallel to chaps. xii, xiii, or as a sequel to them. Perhaps the question would not have presented itself to his mind, whether these two acts in the great world-drama of Judgement and Redemption were to be simultaneous or successive. However that may be, in ch. xiv we have presented to us the vision of a great day of Jehovah. It is a weird day of gloom, but at evening time there shall be light. In the last extremity, when Jerusalem has been taken and plundered, Jehovah comes with His attendant angels, in storm and earthquake, and routs Jerusalem's foes, who perish by terrible plagues and internecine strife. Then Jehovah *shall become king over all the earth.* No other gods will dispute His sovereignty. No ambiguous names will divide His unity. Under the figure of physical change, which leaves Jerusalem towering majestically in the centre of a level plain, is indicated the supreme importance of the city. The living waters which issue from her symbolise her life-giving energies. The remnant of the nations which once menaced her existence now come to worship the King, Jehovah of hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. There shall be no more anything accursed. There will no longer be a distinction between things sacred and things profane, where all will bear the stamp of consecration. Jerusalem will be, not in name but in reality, the holy city. The goal will be attained

towards which one prophet after another had strained his eyes. The seer of Patmos almost repeats the words as he bids us still look forward to it.

VII

The fulfilment.

Zion's King came to her. Deliberately Jesus presented Himself to the people as their King by riding into Jerusalem upon the ass' colt. The outward form was not the essential part of the prophecy. He might have fulfilled the prophecy without thus acting it out to the letter. But He would have the people know by a sign which the most ignorant could not mistake what He claimed to be. They knew Him and they welcomed Him; and yet within one short week they fulfilled the other prophecy of the rejected shepherd. For whatever minor meaning or previous fulfilment the allegory of the true shepherd may have had, we cannot doubt that it pointed forward to the Good Shepherd who was rejected, betrayed, and crucified by those whom He came to save.[1] The warning of the allegory fell unheeded upon their ears. Of Him, as of no other, could God speak as *the man that is My fellow.* The penitent looking unto Him whom they had pierced began upon the day of Pentecost, when three thousand *were pricked in the heart.* It will be consummated when *He comes with the clouds,*

[1] This is not the place to enter upon the complicated difficulties of the quotation in Matt. xxvii. 9.

and every eye shall see Him, and they which pierced Him, and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn over Him.

Conclusion

If the view which has here been taken of the later chapters is correct, the Book of Zechariah as a whole occupies a position of remarkable importance in the development of Messianic prophecy. It knits together lines of thought and hope which before were separate. In the first part, as we have seen, the union of the offices of Priest and King in the person of the Messiah is prefigured (p. 439 ff.). In the second part, we have at least a hint and suggestion of the union of the prophecies of the Royal Messiah and the suffering Servant of Jehovah (p. 465), and a dark shadow of warning falls across the brightness of the prospect. When Israel's true shepherd comes he will be contemptuously rejected, nay, put to death by an ungrateful people.

Thus step by step prophecy moved towards the appointed goal. And so it came to pass, in fulfilment even more strangely tragical than could ever have been anticipated. He came, and they made the crown of thorns His diadem and the Cross His throne.

NOTE A.—ON CH. IX. 13.

Kuenen (*Einl.* § 81, n. 6 : cp. also König, *Einl.* § 73, 3 d) justly remarks that the reading of this verse is not above suspicion, and with equal justice rejects two emendations which have been proposed, neither of which can be said to be at all plausible. But he does not suggest what seems to me

the true remedy, the omission of the words *against thy sons, O Greece.* The allusion to Greece is quite isolated. Its definiteness is unlike the generality which in the main characterises the passage. The words disturb the balance of the clauses. The enemy is not addressed elsewhere in the context, but the covenant people. Nothing could have been more natural than the insertion of such a gloss in the Maccabaean times, and it was facilitated by a misunderstanding of the meaning of the clause to which it was added. Lastly, the differences of reading represented by the LXX, *against the sons of the Greeks*, and the Targum, *against the sons of the peoples*, are an indication, though slight, that the words were not part of the original text, or were differently read.

Now for the meaning of the words. ועוררתי is usually rendered *and stir up.* But this rendering interrupts the series of metaphors. Judah is the *bow* which Jehovah bends; Ephraim is the *arrow* which He places upon its string; Zion He will make as a hero's *sword.* Now, is it not clear that ועוררתי ought to be taken in the sense of *wielding* or *hurling* a spear, which it bears in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18? (cp. Isa. x. 26). Zion's sons are Jehovah's *spear*, and the series of metaphors is complete. Next observe the gain to the rhythm by the omission of the words על בניך יון. The verse will then consist of four equal clauses, which may thus be represented in translation, though in the Hebrew *bow* belongs to the second line:

For I bend me Judah for a bow,
Lay Ephraim on it for an arrow,
Wield thy sons, O Zion, for a spear,
And make thee as a hero's sword.

How easy for a scribe in the Maccabaean age, not recognising the metaphor of the third line, and understanding the verb to mean *stir up*, to think that the clause required a supplement, and to add his interpretative gloss, *against thy sons, O Greece.*

Note B.—On Ch. xiv. 5.

The first word of this verse is one of the very few cases in which the difference between the "Eastern" and "Western" tradition as to the reading affects the sense. The Western reading, which is that of our printed texts, is וְנַסְתֶּם *and ye shall flee;* the Eastern reading is וְנִסְתַּם *and it shall be stopped.* This is the reading followed by the LXX, Aq., Symm., Theod., and the Targum. The LXX, Aq., Symm., and Theod., but not the Targum, render the word in the same way where it recurs in the verse. It seems to me that there is much to be said in favour of adopting this reading. The verse will then run: *And the valley of My mountains shall be blocked up . . . yea it shall be blocked up as it was blocked up by the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah.* Even if the pre-exilic date is adopted for these chapters, the expression *as ye fled* in reference to an event which happened 150 years before would be strange. But it would not be strange for a writer, even after the Exile, to point to some great landslip, by which the memory of that terrible earthquake was still visibly preserved.

When this note was originally written, I had not noticed the remarkable confirmation which the theory it puts forward receives from Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* ix. 10, 4). He relates that the earthquake occurred at the moment when Uzziah was impiously attempting to force his way into the Temple to burn incense. He threatened the priests who endeavoured to resist him with death; "but meanwhile a great earthquake shook the ground, and the Temple opened, and a brilliant light shone out of it, and struck the king's face, so that he was forthwith smitten with leprosy: while in front of the city, at the place which is called Erōgē, half of the mountain toward the west was broken off, and rolling four furlongs to the mountain on the east stopped there, so that the passages and the king's gardens were blocked up." The word for "blocked up" used by Josephus (ἐμφραγῆναι) is the same as that which is used in the LXX here.

LECTURE XVI

ISAIAH XXIV–XXVII

Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed; because Jehovah of hosts is become King in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and in the presence of His elders shall be glory.—ISAIAH XXIV. 23.

I

Characteristics of Isaiah xxiv–xxvii.

THESE four chapters form a connected whole, distinguished by marked characteristics of style and contents. They contain a sublime drama of judgement and redemption, which forms an appropriate *finale* to the collection of prophecies concerning the nations. The various acts of Jehovah's government of the world culminate in the visible manifestation of His sovereignty, and in the blessings of His reign not Israel only but the nations participate.

The contents of these chapters are rightly described by Delitzsch as "eschatological and apocalyptic." They draw aside the veil which hides the ultimate accomplishment of the divine counsels; they point forward to the final consummation of all things; they present a vision of glory which may serve at once

as a consolation and an encouragement in a time of distress and disappointment.

It is to this apocalyptic character that they owe their peculiar difficulties. The standpoint of the writer is shifted from the present to the future, and from the future back to the present. It is often impossible to determine whether he is speaking of what is actually past, or only of what is past from some assumed standpoint in the future. Again and again the historical circumstances under which he writes seem to be on the point of disclosing themselves, only to elude us like a mirage when we try to fix their details. The truth is that he has drawn his materials from past history, but has generalised and idealised those materials as he recombines them into a new picture upon a grander scale. It is not to be wondered at that there has been the widest divergence of views as to the interpretation and the date of this prophecy. There is much in it which may seem to confirm the tradition that Isaiah was the author; but there is more which points to a date shortly after the Return from the Captivity. "This cannot be denied," is the verdict of Delitzsch in the last edition of his Isaiah, published in 1889, less than a year before his death, "that the contents, in order to be assigned to their proper place in the development of Old Testament revelation, point to an age later than that of Isaiah. The author is not Isaiah, but a disciple of Isaiah, who here surpasses his master.

Isaiah is great in himself, greater in his disciples, as rivers are greater than the source from which they spring."

II

Contents of these chapters. (1) Ch. xxiv.

The justification of this view must be based upon a careful examination of the contents of these chapters and of their characteristic teaching. The prophecy opens with a vision of universal judgement upon the inhabitants of the earth, *because they have transgressed laws, violated statutes, broken the primeval covenant.* It falls upon all ranks and classes of society alike. All festivity is at an end. The country is desolate; the cities are deserted. A few scattered inhabitants only are left, like the scattered berries which remain on the olive trees after they have been beaten, or the scanty remnant of grapes which gleaners find when the vintage is done (xxiv. 1-13).

But on them judgement has done its work. They recognise Jehovah as its author and pay Him homage. *These shall lift up their voice, they shall shout; for the majesty of Jehovah they cry aloud from the sea.* As they glorify Jehovah, they chant the praises of His people, which reach the ears of the prophet and his companions. *From the ends of the earth have we heard songs, 'Honour to the righteous.'* But the actual state of that people is in sad contrast to what it should be. As he thinks of all that Israel has suffered from its persecutors, he can only cry, *I pine away, I pine*

away, woe is me! The treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously; yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously. The rift in the clouds closes, and the vision of judgement returns in more terrible form than before. It is described as a second deluge. *The windows on high are opened, and the foundations of the earth do shake.* Crushed under the weight of the transgression of its inhabitants the earth perishes. *It shall fall and not rise again* (14-20).

At the same time *Jehovah will punish the host of the high ones on high*—heavenly beings which are in some mysterious way connected with the history of the world, and have misused their power and authority —*and the kings of the earth upon the earth:* and when all authorities and powers have been judged according to their deserts, Jehovah will manifest Himself as King in Zion. The elders of His people will be admitted to His immediate presence and see His glory, as of old the elders of Israel saw it in the wilderness (21-23).

(2) *Ch. xxv* Transported in spirit into that glorious future, the prophet praises Jehovah for the wonders which He has wrought. He has proved Himself the stronghold of His people, while the city which was the impersonation of hostility to Judah is laid in ruins. As they see these judgements, the fiercest and most despotic nations pay Him reverence. All peoples are admitted to share the blessings of His kingdom. Right royally He entertains them in His capital.

There He destroys the veil of ignorance, of suffering, of sin—all that has darkened the life of humanity—nay, death itself. *He hath swallowed up death for ever; and the Lord Jehovah will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the reproach of His people shall He take away from off all the earth* (xxv. 1-8).

And while glad songs resound from this ransomed community, Moab, the typical example of contemptuous pride, which had rejoiced with malicious joy over Judah's fall, is reduced to helpless ignominy, and its strong cities are levelled to the ground (9-12).

Once more the ransomed community raises its (3) *Ch. xxvi.* voice of praise. While the lofty city of worldly power is laid low, they can sing *We have a strong city*, guarded by no perishable defences, for *salvation doth He appoint for walls and bulwarks.* It is to be peopled with worthy citizens. *Open the gates, that a righteous nation may enter which keepeth faithfulness.* Its confidence is in the *Rock of Ages.* In grateful retrospect the redeemed recount how they had waited for Jehovah to come in judgement, for only through judgement would the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness. Though they refuse at first to see it, they will be compelled to recognise Jehovah's uplifted hand, and to acknowledge His zeal for His people. For a time He had surrendered them to the dominion of other masters, but now through His grace, and through this alone, they can once more celebrate His praises. Their enemies have perished for ever; and Jehovah

has glorified Himself by multiplying His people and extending the boundaries of their land (xxvi. 1-15).

They recall the prayers which they offered in the time of chastisement: the birthpangs which seemed so ineffectual for the production of a regenerate nation. And the divine answer comes that by a supreme act of grace the dead shall live. *Thy dead shall live; thy dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is dew of light, and the earth shall give birth to the dead* (16-19).

But before that glorious future is attained, the world must be judged. The people of God are bidden to take refuge as Noah took refuge in the Ark from the rising Flood, as the Israelites in Egypt took refuge in their houses from the destroying angel, *for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.* For Jehovah will appear to punish the crimes of the world, and in particular its wanton bloodshed, which cries aloud for vengeance and can no longer be concealed (20, 21).

(4) *Ch. xxvii.* The great powers of the world, represented as the huge and terrible monsters of fable, will be destroyed (xxvii. 1). Then, breaking once more into song, the prophet furnishes Israel of the future with a hymn of praise to celebrate Jehovah's care of His vineyard. That vineyard will at length respond to His care, and produce the fruit which He desires. Israel will once more flourish, for Jehovah has not smitten it to destroy it as He smote its persecutors. The iniquity of Jacob will be blotted out by this chastisement, in

which his altars have been utterly destroyed. Never again will his idolatrous emblems be set up. For his fortified cities[1] have been broken down; cattle feed and women gather firewood among their ruins. And why? Because Israel has no discernment; it does not know its Maker, and therefore He shews them no compassion (2-11).

Yet in the distant future Jehovah will gather every grain of corn in the garner of His land, and summon His banished outcasts to return from the lands of their captivity. The King will receive the homage of His subjects. *They shall worship Jehovah in the holy mountain in Jerusalem* (12, 13).

III

Distinctive ideas.

This rapid survey may suffice to shew how various scenes in the great drama of judgement and redemption are passed in review to strengthen faith and kindle hope by pointing forward to the final crisis. The unity of the prophecy is not the unity of an orderly chronological succession, but the unity of the divine purpose, which determines all Jehovah's

[1] The context requires that *the defenced city* in ch. xxvii. 10 should be understood of Jerusalem, including perhaps other cities of Judah. The *people of no discernment* must be Israel (cp. i. 3): the conclusion of the verse leaves no doubt on this point. The terms *he that made them, . . . he that formed them*, would not be used in reference to a heathen nation. Cp. xliii. 1; xliv. 2, 24, etc. Moreover, as *v.* 9 is clearly a reminiscence of xvii. 8, so *v.* 10 is suggested by xvii. 9.

dealings with His people and with the world. The same thoughts recur again and again in different connexions; and it may be worth while to endeavour to gather together and present in a connected form, the characteristic ideas of these chapters, with the caution that they are not to be regarded as a historical chart of the course of events, but rather as an exposition of the principles of the divine government of the world, leading up to the final consummation of all things, in the manifestation of Jehovah's undisputed sovereignty.

1) Judgement of the nations.

(1) It is through an universal judgement that the way for the reign of Jehovah must be prepared. The world's guilt demands a signal retribution; and it is only through judgement that the inhabitants of the world can be taught righteousness. Typical examples of judgement are given. The great cities in which the world's power and the world's guilt are concentrated are laid in ruins. Moab, notorious for its pride, is ignominiously humiliated. Ferocious nations, for which fabulous monsters are the only fitting symbols,[1] are destroyed.

(2) Restoration of Israel.

(2) But while the cities of the world perish, the city of God arises with a new splendour. While Israel's oppressors perish to revive no more, Israel's

[1] "Leviathan the swift serpent, and leviathan the crooked serpent, and the dragon that is in the sea" (xxvii. 1) are commonly interpreted to mean Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt. But the apocalyptic imagery is designedly indefinite, and is intended to describe the enemies of God and His people, whoever they may be.

dead are raised to life. While pride is humbled, humility is exalted. The scattered Israelites will be gathered. Not one sound grain of wheat will be lost in the Lord's harvest. The boundaries of the land will be enlarged, and it will be peopled by more numerous inhabitants than ever before.

(3) Israel is not only restored, but regenerated. The discipline of punishment has done the work for which it was designed. Correction not destruction was its purpose. Throughout the dark night of sorrow faithful souls were waiting patiently for Jehovah to come and save them. Nor was their hope misplaced. At length He ordains peace for them. It is of His grace that they can once more celebrate His praises. A righteous nation returns to occupy the city in place of the sinful nation which was exiled from it. The vineyard which once disappointed its Owner, and provoked Him to break down its fences, and leave it to lie waste, now yields abundant fruit. *(3) Regeneration of Israel.*

(4) But Israel does not enjoy the blessings of Jehovah's reign alone. Judgement has taught the nations as it has taught Israel. The scanty remnant which escapes in the great catastrophe pays Him homage. Mighty nations glorify Him when they see His power manifested upon nations no less powerful than themselves. All antagonism to Him and to His people is at an end. Zion becomes the centre of blessing for all the world. The participation of all *(4) Conversion of the nations.*

nations in the blessedness of Jehovah's people is described under the figure of a rich feast which Jehovah makes for them there.

But this is not all. Zion is the scene of their deliverance from that veil of ignorance and sorrow and sin which has darkened human life. While Jehovah removes the reproach of His people from off all the earth, so that their relation to Him and His to them is fully known, He swallows up death for ever, and wipes away tears from off all faces. The attainder of the Fall is reversed. Paradise is restored.

IV

Authorship and date.

Why should this remarkable prophecy not be regarded as Isaiah's? and what are the grounds for placing it in the period after the Return from Babylon? A majority of modern critics agree in thinking that this prophecy cannot have come from the pen of Isaiah, because the style and language, the distinctive ideas, and the historical background, are all unlike those of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. Style and language might no doubt have altered with advancing years, and with the character of the subject. Isaiah's spiritual vision might doubtless have been strengthened, and the veil drawn aside that he might gaze into the future, when in old age he retired from active life, to contemplate the final issues of the divine counsels to which the

great movements of his own age had been leading up. The historical allusions are confessedly indefinite, because they are generalised and used as symbols of more marvellous deliverances and more stupendous catastrophes. Yet when every allowance has been made, it is difficult to resist the cumulative force of the combined arguments, which point to another prophet than Isaiah, and to a later age than the commencement of the seventh century.

Historical events, it can hardly be doubted, form the groundwork of the prophet's eschatological pictures, though these events are not historically described but generalised and idealised. Some great catastrophe which has actually happened, serves as the model for the picture of the judgement of the world. Heavy as was the blow inflicted upon Judah by Sennacherib's invasion, it is a more terrible disaster than that. It can scarcely be any less calamity than the destruction of Jerusalem, and the desolation of the land which followed upon Nebuchadnezzar's deportation of the people.[1]

Some great city has fallen, whose fall serves as a type of the fall of the imperial city or cities which are contrasted with the city of God. The city may be Nineveh or Babylon; but no other city of earlier times occupied the relation to Judah which these did. There was no other city whose fall could have offered so signal an example of divine judgement, or

[1] Ch. xxiv; xxvii. 10 f.

have been regarded, even typically, as the prelude to such far-reaching consequences.

Israel has been punished for its sins. It has been scattered in distant lands. But punishment has borne fruit in penitence. Idolatry will never again be revived. Now although the standpoint of the writer is often an ideal one, it is difficult to resist the impression that the actual experience of the exile lies behind this language. A partial restoration appears to have already taken place, which is the earnest of a complete and perfect restoration. But it is still a day of reproach and distress. Calamities are impending upon the world in which God's people can hardly escape, which will nevertheless prepare the way for their complete redemption.

All these indications point to the period after the Return from Babylon, as the time at which the prophecy was written. The place of writing was unquestionably Jerusalem. Zion is repeatedly spoken of as *this mountain* (xxv. 6, 7, 10).

At what precise date after the Return it should be placed is more doubtful. But it may with some probability be assigned to the early part of this period.[1] The sufferings of the exile seem to be still

[1] Dillmann places it "in the first sixty or seventy years of the new Jerusalem": Driver, with whom I am glad to find myself in agreement, though upon somewhat different grounds, in "the early post-exilic period" (*Introduction to Lit. of O.T.*[6] p. 221; cp. *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, 2nd ed., p. 119); Delitzsch (*Messianische Weissagungen*, p. 145), "in the exile or later," suggesting the possibility, which seems to me unlikely, that the author was

comparatively recent. The idolatries of the pre-exilic period have not been forgotten. The indications of the actual circumstances and hopes of the people, so far as they can be traced, correspond remarkably with the circumstances and hopes of the time of Haggai and Zechariah. It is a day of small things, but the restoration which has already been effected, insignificant as it may appear to the outward eye, is the pledge of a brilliant future. The judgement of the world, which prepares the way for the establishment of Jehovah's kingdom, corresponds to the shaking of nations and the overthrow of kingdoms and the punishment of Israel's oppressors, which are prominent features in Haggai and Zechariah. Yet there as here the union of the nations with Israel in the worship of Jehovah is confidently predicted. There too as here, the presence of Jehovah among His people is contemplated as their glory and their security.

V

Position and purpose of these chapters.

Some of the prophecies concerning the nations incorporated in the Book of Isaiah appear to date from the period of the exile. The collection was therefore probably not completed until after the Return from Babylon. May it not be conjectured

the author of Isa. xl-lxvi. Might the conjecture be hazarded that echoes of the great struggle between Asia and Europe (B.C. 500-480) reached Palestine, and gave the prophet the impulse, so far as the impulse came from external circumstances? Cp. p. 494 f.

that a disciple of Isaiah, deeply read in his master's prophecies and in the works of the other great prophets of the earlier period, composed this apocalyptic prophecy of judgement and redemption, as a fitting *finale* to the prophecies upon the nations? Revelation or Apocalypse is the last stage in the development of Prophecy; and the writing which we are considering belongs to the transition stage between Prophecy and Apocalypse. If Revelation is "the most attractive form in which hope can be offered to a people which has learnt to feel even in the deepest afflictions that they form a turning-point in the world's history,"[1] the timeliness of this particular utterance is obvious. The temptation to despair must have pressed heavily even upon faithful souls in that first half-century of the Return. The reality corresponded but meagrely to the glowing visions of the Book of Consolation. Could it be, they must often have asked, that through this weak and despised community Jehovah was working out His purposes? Could this be the Zion of which it had been said, *nations shall come to thy light and kings to the brightness of thy rising?* In such a crisis this prophet was raised up to reanimate fainting hearts by reasserting in a new form the old truth that the course of God's dealings with Israel and the world is through judgement to redemption, through death to life; and that His unchanging principles of

[1] Bishop Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 73.

action must result in the final manifestation of His absolute sovereignty. This seer was gifted by the Spirit with a power of vision which looks right onward to the end, foreshortening the intervening distance. St. Paul can but quote his words to describe the final triumph: *Then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory* (1 Cor. xv. 54.).[1] The great voice out of the throne which the seer of Patmos heard does but echo them, and stamp them with the seal of the New Covenant as still the goal of Christian hope, when it proclaims, *Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His peoples, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God: and He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more; neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more: the first things are passed away* (Rev. xxi. 3, 4).

[1] St. Paul's rendering *victory* is based upon the Aramaic meaning of the root from which is derived the word more correctly rendered *for ever*.

LECTURE XVII

MALACHI

The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to His Temple.—
MALACHI iii. 1.

I

Blank in the history of Judaea, B.C. 516-458.

AFTER the Dedication of the Temple in B.C. 516 the curtain falls upon the fortunes of the little community in Judaea. Momentous events were happening which shaped the course of the world's history for all time. The revolt of the Ionians from the supremacy of Persia (B.C. 500) led eventually to the Persian invasion of Greece. The names of Marathon (B.C. 490), Thermopylae, Salamis (B.C. 480), Plataea (B.C. 479), recall the memories of the heroic struggle which drove back the flood of Asiatic barbarism from the shores of Europe. For the most part the scene of the conflict was remote from Judaea. But the revolt of Egypt from Darius in B.C. 487, and again from Artaxerxes in B.C. 462-456 brought the clash of arms nearer. The Persian forces marched

through Syria. It is scarcely possible that Judaea can have escaped without feeling some effects from the proximity of the Persian armies. Increased taxes, compulsory supply of provisions and baggage animals, possibly even personal impressment for the service of the Great King, pressed hardly on the struggling community.[1]

But to what extent the Jews were involved in these movements, and what were their mingled feelings of hope or fear as they watched the shaking of the nations around them, can only be conjectured. It has been suggested that the later chapters of Zechariah and Isaiah xxiv-xxvii may be voices which break the silence. But the suggestion has only a certain degree of probability; and only two notices have come down to us of events which happened during the period of nearly sixty years which intervened between the completion of the Temple and the mission of Ezra.[2] (1) A brief note in Ezra iv. 6 records the fact that in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (B.C. 485) the enemies of Judah wrote an accusation against them to the Persian court. Were

[1] See Neh. v. 4; ix. 37. Syrians of Palestine are mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 89) as serving in the army of Xerxes.

[2] Ezra iv. 6-23 is certainly parenthetic. After relating the successful opposition of "the people of the land" to the building of the Temple, the compiler quotes other instances from later history in which they shewed a similar spirit of malicious opposition. The narrative can only be regarded as continuous by the help of the violent expedient of identifying Ahasuerus with Cambyses, and Artaxerxes with Pseudo-Smerdis.

they charged with complicity or at least sympathy with the Egyptian revolt of B.C. 487? (2) After the death of Xerxes (B.C. 465) it would seem that the Jews commenced to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The Persian officials in Syria, instigated by the enemies of the Jews among the mixed population of Samaria, and prompted rather by hatred of the Jews than by the loyalty to the king of which they made such profuse professions, wrote to Artaxerxes to warn him of the mischief which might ensue if the work was allowed to proceed. They obtained a decree to stop the building, and lost no time in enforcing it. The restoration of the walls was peremptorily suspended.

The mission of Ezra, B.C. 458.

Not many years however can have passed before Ezra went up from Babylon to Jerusalem. We do not know what were the causes which induced Artaxerxes to change his policy. Possibly circumstances connected with the Egyptian revolt (B.C. 462-456) may have influenced him. Be that as it may, in the seventh year of his reign (B.C. 458) Ezra was despatched with full authority from the king and his seven counsellors, *to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem.* All Israelites who wished to return were permitted to join him. He bore rich presents for the Temple and its services from the king and from his own fellow-countrymen. Orders were given to the treasurers of the trans-Euphratensian provinces to furnish supplies for the Temple. The ministers of religion were exempted from the payment of taxes.

Ezra was commissioned to reorganise the civil government of the country, by appointing judges and magistrates (Ezra vii).

After a journey of four months Ezra arrived at Jerusalem. The treasures which had been brought were deposited in the Temple; solemn sacrifices were offered by the returning exiles; and the royal commissions were delivered to the Persian officials, who *furthered the people and the house of God* (Ezra viii).

After these preliminaries, the princes of the people proceeded to call Ezra's attention to the prevalent evil of intermarriage with the heathen, which was threatening to destroy the distinctive character of the nation. If we may judge from his consternation at the account which they gave, Ezra had had no conception of the extent to which the practice had spread. Encouraged by promises of support from the right-minded members of the community, he summoned the people to Jerusalem, and upbraided them with their trespass. In spite of some isolated attempts at opposition (Ezra x. 15, R.V.), he carried his point. A commission of inquiry was appointed, and the guilty parties were compelled to put away their heathen wives (Ezra ix, x).

The mission of Nehemiah, B.C. 445.

Again the curtain falls upon the history. A gap of thirteen years separates the opening of the Book of Nehemiah from the close of the Book of Ezra. What had happened in the interval we do not know, but apparently grave disasters had befallen Jeru-

salem, and Ezra's work of reformation had been abruptly suspended. The Egyptian rebellion had been suppressed, but Megabyzos, the satrap of Syria, had defied the king, and secured a measure of independence.[1] Possibly under these circumstances Ezra was no longer supported by the authority of Artaxerxes, and the opposition which the dissolution of the heathen marriages must have excited found means to display itself. Possibly Jerusalem was in some way or other involved in the revolt of Megabyzos.

At any rate the report which was brought by Hanani to his brother Nehemiah, who was cupbearer to Artaxerxes at Susa, shewed that Jerusalem was in a deplorable plight (Neh. i. 2 ff.). The gates of the city had been burnt, and breaches had been made in the walls.[2] Three or four months later he was enabled to lay before Artaxerxes the wish of his heart. He obtained leave to go to Jerusalem and restore the ruined city. His first care on his arrival at Jerusalem was to repair the walls and the gates of the city (Neh. ii. 11 ff.). While this work was in progress, complaint was made to him of serious social evils which had sprung up. Many of the poorer Jews had been compelled by the recent scarcity to

[1] See Sayce, *Introd. to Ezra*, etc. p. 64.

[2] It is plain that a *recent* disaster must be referred to in Neh. i. 2, 3. The wall must have been rebuilt previously, for it is described not as *broken down* (2 Kings xxv. 10), but as *breached* (cp. Neh. iv. 7); and the fact that the repair of the wall was completed in fifty-two days (vi. 15) makes it plain that it was not now entirely rebuilt for the first time.

mortgage their lands in order to get food, or to pay the royal tribute. Some had even been forced to surrender their children to their creditors as slaves. Nehemiah summoned an assembly, and persuaded the wealthy Jews to restore the lands of their poorer brethren, and to reduce or forego the interest which they had been exacting (Neh. v).

Ezra now reappears upon the scene. A week after the completion of the wall, an assembly was held at which he publicly read the Book of the Law. The Feast of Tabernacles was solemnly celebrated in accordance with its provisions (Neh. viii).[1]

A solemn fast was then held. The people confessed their sins, praised God for His mercies to the nation in past times, and entreated the continuance of His favour. They then pledged themselves by a covenant to obey the law, and in particular to avoid mixed marriages, to keep the Sabbath and holy days, and to observe the regulations of the Sabbatical year. They agreed to pay a poll-tax for the service of the Temple; they cast lots for the duty of providing wood for the altar; and they pledged themselves duly to offer the first-fruits and to pay tithes for the support of the Levites. Provision was made for securing a sufficient population for Jerusalem, and the walls were dedicated with universal rejoicings (Neh. ix-xii).[2]

[1] Ps. cxviii very probably was written for this occasion.

[2] It has been supposed with much probability that Ps. cxlvii was composed for the Dedication Festival.

Nehemiah's second visit, B.C. 433.

Once more the narrative breaks off abruptly. Nehemiah was recalled to the Persian court, and when he again returned to Jerusalem he found that much of his good work had been undone.[1] Eliashib the high priest had established Tobiah the Ammonite, with whom he was connected by marriage, in one of the chambers of the Temple. The portions assigned to the Levites had not been given to them, and consequently the service of the Temple had been suspended. Nehemiah expelled Tobiah, and restored the chamber to its proper use. He enforced the payment of the tithes, and committed the distribution of them to trustworthy treasurers. Next he took steps to put an end to the desecration of the Sabbath; once more he condemned the prevalent evil of mixed marriages; and finally after purifying the congregation enacted regulations for securing the due maintenance of the Temple services (Neh. xii).

II

The prophet Malachi.

It is generally agreed that Malachi prophesied at some time during the period of which the history has been briefly sketched in the preceding pages. The mention of the *governor* of Judah (i. 8) proves that Judah was at the time a province of the Persian empire. The Temple was standing, and the sacrificial service was being carried on. The absence of any

[1] See Note A, p. 511.

allusion to the Return from the Exile makes it probable that some time had elapsed since that event, and the distressed condition of the people, as well as the character and contents of the book, confirms this conclusion.

Date of his ministry.

The precise date of Malachi's ministry is however uncertain. Of the various dates which have been suggested two deserve particular consideration.

(1) The first of these is the interval between Nehemiah's two visits to Jerusalem. The abuses which Nehemiah found on his second visit were, as we have seen, the selfish and irreverent behaviour of the high priest, the general neglect of the Temple service, the non-payment of tithe, the desecration of the Sabbath, and mixed marriages. The evils which Malachi denounces are almost exactly the same:— the negligence of priests and people in the Temple service, the robbery of God by the withholding of tithes and offerings, the reckless divorce of Israelite wives and marriage of foreign women. Nehemiah does not mention divorce, and Malachi does not speak of the desecration of the Sabbath: but for the rest the correspondence is remarkably close.[1] On these grounds it is natural to connect the prophecy of Malachi with the times of Nehemiah, and particularly with the interval between his two visits to Jerusalem rather than with a time when he was

[1] Comp. especially Mal. ii. 10-16 with Neh. xiii. 23 ff.; Mal. iii. 8-10 with Neh. xiii. 10-12, 31; Mal. ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 29.

actually there, for the allusion to the governor in ch. i. 8 points to the presence of a foreign governor, rather than to Nehemiah, who refused to avail himself of his official allowances (Neh. v. 14 ff.).

(2) On the other hand it has been urged that Malachi must have preceded Ezra, because he does not refer to Ezra's measures against mixed marriages, or to the publication of the law. His language, it is said, is that of Deuteronomy. He does not shew the familiarity with the Priests' Code which might be expected from one who came after Ezra, for, whatever view be taken of its origin, it can hardly be questioned that Ezra's Book of the Law was substantially the same as our present Pentateuch.[1]

It may be doubted whether these considerations are sufficient to outweigh the close correspondence with the circumstances found by Nehemiah on his second visit. Malachi's severe reproof of the mixed marriages and the neglect to pay tithe gains force if these were matters in regard to which the people had made a solemn covenant some ten years before. It is not surprising that his language should agree most closely with the popular law-book of Deuteronomy, with which he would naturally be most familiar. The balance of the evidence appears to be in favour of the later date.

[1] See Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in Jewish Church*, 2nd ed. pp. 425 ff., in favour of the earlier date. He concludes that he may have written after 458, but certainly wrote before 444. On the other side see Kuenen, *Einl.* pp. 412 ff., and Driver, *Lit. of O. T.*[6] p. 357.

Nothing whatever is known of the history of the prophet. It is even questionable whether we know his name. *Malachi* occurs nowhere else as a proper name; and it is identical with the Hebrew word for *my messenger* in ch. iii. 1. If it is a proper name, it can hardly mean *my messenger*, but must be regarded as a shortened form for Malachiah, *messenger of Jehovah*. But the oldest versions do not recognise it as a proper name. The LXX, representing a slightly different reading, renders the title, *Oracle of the word of the Lord against Israel by the hand of his messenger;* and the Targum adds the gloss, *by the hand of my messenger, whose name is called Ezra the scribe.* The identification of the author with Ezra can scarcely be more than a conjecture; but it is important to observe the oldest exegetical tradition embodied in these versions. It is possible that the collector of the Minor Prophets had no information as to the name of the author of this prophecy, and prefixed to it a title suggested by ch. iii. 1, regarding the messenger who is there spoken of as the prophet himself.[1] By the second century A.D., however, "Malachi" had come to be regarded as a proper name,[2] and though it must remain uncertain whether it originally was so, it is convenient to continue to use it.

Is Malachi a proper name?

[1] Cp. Hagg. i. 13.

[2] In the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

III

Contents of the book.

Malachi's prophecy is in the main, as we have seen, a reproof of the sins of his contemporaries. The ground of his appeal to Israel is, like that of his predecessors, the relation of Jehovah to the nation. Jehovah had loved them. He had chosen Jacob, while He rejected Esau. Did they ask for a proof of His love? It was before their eyes in the fate of Edom. Israel had been restored to its own land, but Edom's heritage lay desolate, and Edom's intention to restore his ruined cities was doomed to be frustrated (i. 2-5).

Reproof of the priests.

Malachi's first reproof is addressed to the priests for the negligent performance of their duties. They openly expressed their contempt for the altar which they served. They offered, or permitted the people to offer, blemished animals for sacrifice. It was a deliberate insult to Jehovah. Better close the Temple altogether than profane Jehovah's name in His own sanctuary! Let them not delude themselves into fancying that the Temple at Jerusalem was the only place where acceptable worship could be offered. Already Jehovah's Name was held in honour throughout the world, and acceptable worship was being offered to Him everywhere even in heathen lands (i. 6-14).

But the priests were the teachers of the nation

as well as the guardians of its ritual; and this responsible part of their duties they had neglected not less than the other. They had misled those whom they ought to have directed. Their practice was in startling contrast to the ideal of Levi's functions as the keeper of divine knowledge and the expounder of the Law (ii. 1-9).

Here too Malachi bases his reproof upon the relation of Jehovah to the people as their Lord and Father (i. 6), and to the priests in virtue of the covenant He had made with Levi (ii. 4 ff.). The reverence of the son for his father, the fear of the servant for his master, were wholly wanting. For this the priests were to blame. They had *corrupted the covenant of Levi.* And their contempt for Jehovah had recoiled upon themselves. He had made them *contemptible and base before all the people.*

Reproof of the people for mixed marriages and divorce.

Then, turning from the priests to the people, he denounces the heathen marriages by which the holiness of the nation was being contaminated, and condemns the heartlessness of their conduct in repudiating their Israelite wives (ii. 10-16). Once more he bases his reproof upon the relation of Israel to God. It was the purpose of Jehovah for Israel, and the mutual relation of all the members of the nation to one another as children of one God, which made the perfidy of their conduct so heinous. Nay, it was the original plan and intention of the

creation which made these causeless divorces contrary to the Divine Will.[1]

The day of judgement

There were sceptics among the people who denied God's justice, and doubted whether He would ever come to judge and to discriminate between the evil and the good. For them the message is that the day is speedily coming when the Lord, the Judge whose Presence they thoughtlessly desired, will suddenly appear in His Temple, in the person of the Angel of the Covenant. He will separate between the righteous and the wicked, and purify the ungodly nation in the furnace of judgement (ii. 17–iii. 6).

How could they expect a blessing when they robbed God by withholding tithes and offerings? Murmurers might complain that there was no advantage in serving God; but that day would distinguish between those who served Him, and those who served Him not. Destruction would be the lot of the one class, happiness and prosperity of the other (iii. 7–iv. 3).

In his parting words he commends to them the law of Moses as the standard and the safeguard of conduct. By this law Israel is to rule its life, and so to await the fulfilment of the promise (iv. 4-6).

[1] The meaning of ch. ii. 15 is obscure: but on the whole I incline to the rendering: *And did not One* (*i.e.* God, cp. ii. 10) *make* [you both]? . . . *And why* [did] *the One* [do so]? *Seeking a godly seed.* The purpose of marriage was the maintenance of the Israelite race as the people of God, and this was defeated by mixed marriages and by divorce.

IV

Style of Malachi.

In Malachi, we are already on the threshold of a new age. The characteristic peculiarity of his style marks the transition from the free discourse of the prophets to the didactic dialectic of the schools of the scribes. Some general truth is affirmed, or some ground of complaint is alleged; the people's objection to it is stated; the objection is refuted, and warning or promise is pronounced.[1]

But Malachi's voice is still a true voice of prophecy. "With its clear insight into the real wants of the time, its stern reproof even of the priests themselves, and its bold exposition of the eternal truths and the certainty of a last judgement, this book closes the series of prophetic writings contained in the Canon in a manner not unworthy of such lofty predecessors."[2]

Zeal for the Law.

It has seemed strange to some that a prophet should lay so much stress upon the external precepts of the law. But the ritual law was one of the means by which Israel was to be kept separate from the nations during the period upon which it was now entering. Men's attitude towards it could not be a matter of indifference. The neglect or observance of ritual rules was a measure of their regard for God. The offering of blemished or imperfect animals in

[1] See *e.g.* i. 2 ff., 6 ff.; ii. 10, 14, 17; iii. 7 f., 13.

[2] Ewald, *Hist.* v. 176 (E.T.).

sacrifice indicated the irreverence of the worshipper's heart. And it is no mere formal compliance with ritual ordinances which Malachi enjoins. It is the whole law which he commends to his countrymen as the divinely authorised standard of action. Those against whom Jehovah will be *a swift witness* when He comes to judgement are the sorcerers, the adulterers, the false swearers, those that oppress the hireling, the widow, and the fatherless, and defraud the stranger; all, in fact, whose conduct shews that they do not fear Jehovah (iii. 5). There was no antagonism between the law and the prophets; and it was not unworthy of the latest voice of prophecy that it should bid Israel put its conscience to school with the law, during the centuries in which the voice of prophecy was to be silent, and a life and death conflict was to be waged with heathenism.

It was the lesson needed for the age; and if Israel misused the law, and forged fetters for itself out of what God designed for its support, the fault lay in them, and not in the prophet.

True worship not limited to Jerusalem.

But while Malachi insists upon obedience to the ritual precepts of the law, and the importance of the Temple service, with true prophetic breadth of view he looks beyond the bounds of a narrow Judaism with its centre in Jerusalem to the prospect of a worship coextensive with the world. Whether the true meaning of the famous passage in ch. i. 11 is that the nations already in their worship paid an

unconscious tribute to Jehovah as the Supreme Sovereign of the universe; or that already numerous proselytes from heathenism, abandoning their idolatries, had begun to worship Jehovah as the one true God; or that the Jews of the Dispersion, scattered throughout the world in the midst of the Gentiles, rendered by their offerings of prayer and praise a more acceptable service to Jehovah than the careless priests in the Temple at Jerusalem by their heartless and contemptible sacrifices, and that thereby Jehovah's Name was being magnified among the heathen, the lesson is the same. It is that these negligent priests were to know that Jehovah was not, as they might fancy, dependent upon them and upon the Temple at Jerusalem for acceptable service, for the world was His Temple, and even the heathen were learning to fear Him.[1]

[1] The passage must be rendered as in R.V., *My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the Gentiles.* Comp. *v.* 14: *I am a great King . . . and My name is terrible among the Gentiles.* It speaks of the present, and although it was to find a larger fulfilment in times to come, it is not simply a prediction of the future. But the first of the interpretations mentioned above can hardly be right. *The name of Jehovah*, as Oehler rightly observes (*O.T. Theology*, § 228), presupposes the divine revelation, and cannot refer to an unconscious worship. Nor does it seem likely that proselytes from heathenism were as yet numerous. The third explanation is the best. Probably some of the Jews at Jerusalem despised the Jews of the Dispersion (cp. Ezek. xi. 15), and refused to recognise their worship in heathen countries as true worship. They are rebuked by the emphatic declaration that in every place Jehovah can be acceptably worshipped, and that while His Name is despised in the city of His choice by

Duties of priests as teachers.

Again, if Malachi lays stress on the importance of the sacrificial functions of the priests, he lays equal stress on the importance of their functions as teachers. In noble words he describes the lofty ideal of Levi's calling. *My covenant was with him of life and peace; and I gave them to him that he might fear, and he feared Me and stood in awe of My name. The law of truth was in his mouth, and unrighteousness was not found in his lips; he walked with Me in peace and uprightness, and did turn many away from iniquity. For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of Jehovah of hosts* (ii. 5 ff.). That is not the language of a petrified legalism.

The coming of the Lord.

Lastly, the closing prophecy of the book calls for special notice. The prediction of the messenger, who should come to prepare the way for the advent of the Lord, Elijah the prophet, the mediator between the old and the new, the herald of the day of judgement,[1] was, as our Lord teaches, fulfilled in the mission of John the Baptist. In bidding us recognise John as the messenger He bids us recognise Himself as the Lord, the angel of the covenant. He bids us remember that if

His own people, it is magnified among the heathen. The words are an anticipation of John iv. 21.

[1] It seems best to identify Elijah the prophet (iv. 5) with the messenger who is to be sent to prepare Jehovah's way before Him (iii. 1). This messenger is to be distinguished from the messenger (or angel) of the covenant. As the angel of Jehovah represented Jehovah to Israel of old, so the angel of the covenant represents the Lord as He comes to judge.

the primary object of His Coming was not judgement but mercy, yet none the less judgement must follow upon His coming (John ix. 39). He was the touchstone by which the hearts of men were tried, and the distinction between the righteous and the wicked made manifest.

As we turn the page in our English Bibles, which, unlike the Hebrew canon, place the prophets last in the Old Testament, and read of the fulfilment of the words of Malachi in the mission of the Baptist, we are apt to forget the four centuries of history which intervened, centuries of discipline through struggle and suffering and weary waiting and baffled hopes, until the fulness of the times was come and the Christ was born. The Lord came to His temple; not, as men might have expected, with outward show, and visible manifestations which none could mistake. He came, to be even now a refiner and purifier of silver, to try the hearts of men; to begin that work of judgement which will not be finally consummated till He has come again and judged the world in righteousness.

Note A.—On Nehemiah's Governorships.

It is commonly supposed that Nehemiah remained at Jerusalem as governor from 445 to 433, that he then returned to Susa, and after a year or so went back to Jerusalem. It seems however most improbable that the evils described in Neh. xiii can have become so serious during so short an absence, and accordingly some have thought that *certain days*

(xiii. 6) denotes a much longer period, and that Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem was not till several years later. It must however have been before 425, the date of Artaxerxes' death.

It may however be questioned whether the common view that Nehemiah remained at Jerusalem from 445 to 433 is correct. (1) His request to the king (Neh. ii. 5, 6) contemplates absence from the court for a limited time only. (2) The events recorded in Neh. ii-xii appear to be consecutive, and to occupy a space of less than a year. (3) As has been already remarked, it seems impossible to suppose that the abuses detailed in ch. xiii had sprung up during a brief absence; and yet it is certainly unnatural to understand *certain days* to mean several years.

May not the meaning of ch. xiii. 6 be as follows? *And in all this I was not at Jerusalem: but in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon I came to the king, and at the end of certain days I obtained leave of the king, and came to Jerusalem*, etc. Nehemiah's first mission was temporary; when he had completed the work for which he came, he returned to Susa, after an absence of perhaps not more than a year in all. He remained at Susa until the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, when he again obtained leave to go to Jerusalem. I render כי by *but*, after the negative of the preceding clause, according to the regular Hebrew idiom. I understand the words *I came to the king* not of his return from Jerusalem, but of his going to the palace to serve in his turn as cupbearer. It may be inferred from chaps. i, ii that his attendance was not constant, as he does not appear to have been in the royal presence until some months after he received his brother's deplorable account of the condition of Jerusalem. *At the end of certain days* will then naturally mean when his term of attendance was over. If then Nehemiah went back to Susa after only a few months' stay at Jerusalem, it is easy to understand how the enthusiasm which

he excited may have rapidly cooled, and the old abuses may have sprung up again till they reached the extent which he found when he returned after twelve years' absence.

At first sight ch. v. 14 appears to be irreconcilable with this view. It is, however, not impossible that the dates have been inserted by the compiler who misunderstood ch. xiii. 6; or that Nehemiah continued to be nominally governor, and was entitled to the governor's allowances though not resident in Judaea.

CONCLUSION

πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ.

CHRIST is all and in all.

COLOSSIANS iii. 11.

ἵνα ᾖ ὁ ΘΕΟΣ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

That GOD may be all in all.

1 CORINTHIANS xv. 28.

LECTURE XVIII

CHRIST THE GOAL OF PROPHECY

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.—St. Matthew v. 17.

I

Circumstantial origin of prophecy.

I have endeavoured in this course of lectures to exhibit the work of each successive member of the goodly fellowship of the prophets in relation to the circumstances of his own age. I have endeavoured to shew how the utterances of the prophets arose naturally (as we speak) out of those circumstances, though at the same time they claimed to be the authorised spokesmen and accredited ambassadors of Jehovah, and by the loftiness of their morality and the spirituality of their religion, by the depth of their insight and the sureness of their foresight, they justified their bold claim to be filled with the Spirit of God. The teaching of the prophets took its rise out of the particular needs of different ages, as the teaching of the Apostles recorded for us in the Epistles

took its rise out of the particular needs of the different churches to which they wrote. The utterances of the prophets are no abstract declarations of doctrine, or expositions of morality, or predictions of the future, unconnected with life and history. They have strength and reality and permanence because they deal with living men, because they shew God working in the world, because they let us see how "in every age He takes man as he is that He may make him what he is not."[1]

Its unity in variety.

We have seen that the prophets necessarily spoke the language of their own times, and must be interpreted and estimated in relation to them. It was not given to them all severally to declare the whole counsel of God: one enforces one truth, another emphasises another: here we see progress, sudden and startling; there to all appearance, retrogression, as though the people were unable to bear the full truth, and must be taken back to more rudimentary instruction. But with all the variety of gifts and powers in the series of prophets whose writings have come down to us from a period of more than three centuries (to take the narrowest limits), with all the difference of the special circumstances under which they laboured, and the audiences which they addressed, there is a unity of purpose which bespeaks a common source and origin for the message which is one in essence, though manifold in form.

[1] *Lux Mundi*, p. 82.

II

Prophecy was no premature unrolling of the history of the future to gratify an idle curiosity; it was never separated from its ethical end.[1] But from first to last it pointed forward to a great divine purpose slowly being evolved in the course of ages, to "some far off divine event," towards which the history of Israel and the history of the world were moving. At one time that event seemed close at hand, as though the clouds might break at any instant and reveal the splendour of the divine presence: and then the hope was disappointed, only to be reaffirmed with fresh confidence. Some partial accomplishment of promise served as an earnest of greater things to come, and gave assurance that it must yet find a more complete fulfilment. But who could rise from the study of the Old Testament prophets if the history of their hopes had finally ended there, without a keen sense of disappointment and failure? as one who might find in some lonely desert the foundations of a vast building laid, and costly materials prepared in abundance, with plans and sketches suggestive of majestic perfection, but all abandoned, unused, forgotten. *Its goal.*

Truly if the work of the prophets had ended with their own age, it would have been a splendid testimony for the truths of morality which find their

[1] Cp. Tholuck, *Die Propheten*, § 2.

response in the enlightened conscience, and for the aspirations towards lofty ideals of which man is capable; yet we should have felt—if we can conceive the possibility—a numbing sense of incompleteness and want and failure; we should have been compelled to say that they could not really have been what they claimed to be, the mouthpieces of an unique divine revelation. We should have been forced to confess that the words of prophecy were, after all, human ideals and not divine ideas.

For if prophecy was, as it professed to be, an inspired glimpse into the eternal present of the divine mind, it must needs foresee the divine purpose for mankind unfolding itself in time, and that foresight must in due course be realised in facts. When the curtain falls on the stage of Old Testament prophecy at the close of the fifth century B.C., we feel that the riddle waits for its answer, the drama lacks its denouement.

Those strange centuries of silence! How sorely waiting faith must have been tried in the days when there was no prophet, and the vision seemed to tarry while generation after generation passed away! Yet those centuries were doing their appointed work. Slowly the people were absorbing the spirit of the old truths, and being prepared for the new revelation. Slowly they were learning through the discipline of failure that they could not save themselves; false ideals were being swept away; the spiritual sense was

being developed in the faithful 'remnant' which would enable them to receive the Christ.

Then in the fulness of the times, the Christ came, gathering up into Himself and uniting in His own Person all those lines of prophecy which had seemed so strangely inconsistent and irreconcilable, filling them with a new meaning, vivifying them with a new energy. Here was the answer to all men's hopes; nay, vastly more; a combination, unique, unthought of, beyond the boldest venture of faith and hope to anticipate, needing the humblest teachableness to receive when offered for acceptance.

III

CHRIST the fulfilment of prophecy

The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. It was the function of prophecy to prepare for Him. It is the function of prophecy to bear witness to Him. Through the scriptures of the prophets the mystery, kept in silence from times eternal but now manifested, is made known unto all the nations unto obedience of faith (Rom. xvi. 25, 26). Prophecy first becomes fully intelligible in the light reflected from His Person and offices, His teaching, His life and work, His kingdom.

in His Person and Offices;

(i) The kings of Judah ruled as the representatives of Jehovah, Who was the true King of Israel. Not seldom their conduct was in flat contradiction to their calling. But Prophecy pointed steadily

forward to an ideal King, Who should be a true representative of the nation to Jehovah, and of Jehovah to the nation; the worthy head of the divine kingdom upon earth. In that future age to which the gaze of every prophet is directed, Zion becomes the centre of instruction for the world. *From Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem* (Isa. ii. 3). In the days when the kingdom was tottering to its fall, and Israel was about to pass under the yoke of a heathen power, the advent of a native ruler is predicted who would have priestly rights of access to the presence of God (Jer. xxx. 21): and when the kingdom had finally passed away, the same idea is presented by a symbolical action of deepest significance, and the hopes of the restored community are directed towards the figure of a royal priest who should rule as the perfect representative of Jehovah (Zech. vi. 12, 13).

The scene changes; and mysteriously there arises out of the nation which had failed to fulfil its mission that unique figure of the Servant of the Lord who renders the obedience which Israel had refused, and through suffering and death and life makes atonement for the sin of many.

Yet again, by the side of these varied anticipations of a great Deliverer, prophecy speaks of an Advent of Jehovah Himself, to judge the world and reign among His people.

Already, even in the Old Testament, some of

these lines of prophecy had seemed to meet in a single person. The king is invested with a divine character: the offices of priest and king are symbolically united: still more startlingly, Zion's king comes to her in the guise of the Servant of Jehovah, who has triumphed through suffering.

But it was reserved for the fulfilment to shew how God's thoughts are greater than man's thoughts, for in the Person of Jesus Christ the various lines all meet, in a way unimaginable beforehand to human reason. In Him God comes to visit His people. He Who is very God fulfils as man the Servant's work, and passes through suffering and humiliation to glory. The royal Priest offers Himself as victim for the world, and, exalted to His throne, lives to make eternal intercession.

Men could not have drawn from the Old Testament prophecies the portrait of Him who was to come. To many the guise in which He came was a bitter disappointment. Those who had formed their conception of what the Messiah must be from a partial study of the Scriptures refused to acknowledge Him at all. But surely if slowly, the Church of the First Days, as under the guidance of the Holy Ghost it pondered on the Person and the Work of the Lord, recognised in Him the union of the various elements which had been foreshadowed in many fragments and in many fashions, welcomed Him as her Priest, her Prophet, her Example, her King,

her God; and worshipped in adoring love and wonder.

in His teaching;

(ii) And as Christ in His Person and His Offices summed up and fulfilled all that prophecy had foreshadowed; so in His teaching He took up, united, deepened, vitalised, the old doctrines of the prophets. For He came not to annul or abrogate the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil. He reaffirmed the great moral and religious demands which God had made of old, of truth and righteousness and love and reverence and humility, and all that combines to make up the holiness to which Israel was called, the perfection which is the aim of the Christian life (Matt. v. 48). He concentrated and animated with a new intensity "the passion for righteousness and the hatred of iniquity" which had been growing through successive ages in strength and purity.[1] In the old days the prophets had pointed to the knowledge of God as the source of life; and now He came to bring a new idea of the relation of God to man, and to base man's duty of loving obedience on "the revelation of the Father."

The prophets had ever been turning men's thoughts inwards, teaching that no formal observance of outward ceremonies could satisfy the requirements of the Searcher of hearts. Christ re-enacts the old Law in positive precepts, and pierces to the inward motives of thought and will as the essential criterion of

[1] Dean Church, *Discipline of the Christian Character*, p. 78.

character and conduct. The new covenant of the law written in the heart finds its fulfilment in the dispensation of the Spirit (Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.). *God is spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.* It was only by gradual stages that individual rights and responsibilities came to be recognised in the old time; but Christ proclaims the personal relation to Himself which consecrates the meanest, the inalienable sanctity and responsibility of each separate life, each single soul, without isolating one from another, or weakening the truth of that corporate unity and responsibility which were so clearly understood of old.

in His life and work;

(iii) Again, as we study the life and work of Christ, the fulfilment of prophecy meets our view throughout. Step by step the prophets had taught a fuller knowledge of the nature and the character of God, and as men came to know more of His transcendent majesty and holiness, the gulf between Him and sinful man appeared to widen. God seemed to be farther and farther withdrawn from the world of sense; till in the days when prophecy had ceased, and men were pondering on the contrast between the present and the past, they ceased to pronounce the sacred Name of revelation which had been the pledge of the living Presence and Power of God in the midst of His people.

Side by side with that deeper knowledge of God was developed a clearer recognition of the nature of

sin. The prophets affirm the possibility and the efficacy of repentance, and hold out the offer of forgiveness. Yet how was the fountain to be opened for sin and for uncleanness? Just as men grew to realise the unapproachable awfulness of God, they came to recognise their own corruption and alienation from Him. The gulf between God and man seemed widening hopelessly.

And then Christ came; and in His own Person united man to God—mysterious truth, the full meaning of which is only slowly being apprehended in the course of ages: by His life of perfect obedience He shewed to man a new ideal and a new possibility: by His atoning death He reconciled man to God, and removed the barrier which hindered men from approaching Him with filial confidence.

And then by His triumphant Resurrection *He swallowed up death for ever,* and destroyed the veil spread over all the nations. Little, strangely little, have the prophets to say about a personal immortality: yet this was the necessary conclusion from the premiss of that fellowship with God which they were constantly proclaiming as the goal of Israel's calling: this, however dimly they may have anticipated it, was the necessary fulfilment of their hopes.

And thus, in a larger sense than they could themselves have foreseen, the prophets' promise of peace—peace for Israel, peace even for the nations,[1]

[1] Isa. ix. 6, 7; Zech. ix. 10.

was realised in the work of Christ for the world, in Him Who came *to guide our feet into the way of peace.*

(iv) Yet once again: the Kingdom of Christ is the fulfilment of prophecy. The ruling idea of the Old Testament is the establishment of God's Kingdom in the world. The divine purpose for Israel was that they should be Jehovah's people, and that He should be their God, in the fullest sense of the words. But this is but a fragment of God's counsel: it is but the means to the establishment of His universal Kingdom throughout the world. Whatever may have been the spirit of later Judaism, no one can truly charge the prophets with a 'narrow particularism' or a 'nationalistic bigotry.' They may indeed at one time have looked forward to Israel's becoming the visible and temporal centre of the divine Kingdom in the world, yet it soon becomes plain that it is a spiritual supremacy which Israel was to attain. They could but embody the essential truth in the language of their own time. But Christ came, and again proclaimed the fulfilment of all and more than all for which the prophets had looked with yearning eyes, founding a spiritual Kingdom which knows no limits of race or country or class or space or time; uniting all men in an equal fellowship of blessing and privilege and hope. *in His kingdom.*

IV

The nature of fulfilment.

The manifold outlines, types, foreshadowings, hopes, aspirations of the Old Testament were gathered together in Christ; they were filled with a larger sense, and animated with a new spirit. The fulfilment did not come in the form which might have been expected, and which many did expect, who were content to look at some partial aspect of Israel's hope, and to leave out of account other elements which they could not reconcile into one consistent picture. Indeed it was only slowly, through the teaching of the Holy Spirit, that the Apostles themselves came to see how truly and completely Christ had fulfilled the ancient prophecies. The correspondence of the fulfilment with the prophecy is not (as some would urge) forced and arbitrary. It is "the consummation in life of that which was prepared in life."[1] It does not depend on an exact equivalence of circumstantial details. Such details there are. They serve to attract attention, and invite to a deeper study. But it is not on these that we ought to dwell. They are but the frame of the picture, the setting of the jewel. Rather it is to the great lines of thought, the underlying principles, the ruling ideas, that our attention should be directed. We watch them in the Old Testament, working for-

[1] Bishop Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 480.

ward to an unknown, unseen, unimaginable end; and we see them meeting in Christ, not in mere mechanical or formal union, but in a wholly new combination, the spring of fresh forces and larger hopes for the world. *The old things are passed away: nay rather, behold, they are become new.*

Permanent significance of O.T. prophecy.

Old Testament prophecy is still a living message for the Christian Church. Its fulfilment does not mean that its use is at an end, so that it may be laid on one side, because its purpose and significance are exhausted. Nor does it mean that for us the sole use of prophecy is as one of the credentials which attest Christ's mission. It is this, and as such it would claim our reverent study; but it is far more. It is not fulfilled and exhausted, but fulfilled and illuminated, and we must read it in the light of that illumination.

Thence we may derive comfort and courage, as we watch the methods by which God works out His purposes, educates the world, establishes His kingdom in it. There we may see that He is indeed the living God, Who rules in the affairs of men: *the Alpha and the Omega, the Lord God, which is and which was, and which is to come, the All-Sovereign* (Rev. i. 8). The inspired optimism of the prophets, maintained in the teeth of present appearances by their resolute faith in Jehovah, supplies a wholesome antidote to the temptation to a despairing pessimism, so commonly felt in the present day. That optimism

was justified in the event, though the event was long delayed; and it bids us look forward with confidence, though the vision may yet tarry long.

And the ethical teaching of the prophets still abides for our instruction. It is illuminated, elevated, fulfilled by the teaching of our Lord, but it is not superseded. Some rudimentary elements there are in it, which fall away in the fuller growth; some temporary forms which belong only to the old order. But the foundation of eternal truth abides and lives. "As long as the world lasts," wrote one whose view of the Old Testament is often stimulating if inadequate, "all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have had the sense for righteousness most glowing and strongest; and in hearing and reading the words Israel has uttered for us, carers for conduct will find a glow and a force they could find nowhere else."[1] Yes! for they are gleams from the eternal Sun of Righteousness, Who has arisen upon us with healing in His wings.

Those sacred writings are still *able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus* (2 Tim. iii. 15). And *whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have our hope* (Rom. xv. 4).

The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

[1] M. Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, p. 42.

We see the work of Redemption, for which prophecy prepared the way, carried to a point of completion which is in itself a new and unique beginning; and, viewed in the light of the fulfilment which it has already received, prophecy bids us rest assured that this work will not fail or be frustrated, but will finally reach that supreme conclusion, when GOD shall be *all in all.*

Prophets of Judah.	Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Kings of Israel.	Prophets of Israel.	Contemporary Events.
			I. PRE-ASSYRIAN PERIOD		
		876	Ahab		Revolt of Mesha
	Jehosha-phat	873		Elijah	The 'Moabite Stone': *c.* 865-854
		854	Ahaziah		
		853	Joram		
	Jehoram	848			
Obadiah *c.* 846 (?)	Ahaziah	844			
	Athaliah	843	Jehu	Elisha	Jehu pays tribute to Shalmaneser II
	Joash	837			
Joel *c.* 837-817 (?)		815	Jehoahaz		
		798	Joash		
	Amaziah	797			
			II. THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD		
	Uzziah	792			
		790	Jeroboam II		
		760		**Amos** *c.* 760	
		755			
	Jotham (regent)	750			
		749	Zechariah		
			Shallum	Hosea *c.* 755-740	
		748	Menahem		
		745			Tiglath-pileser III (Pul) 745-727
	Jotham (king)	740			

Prophets of Judah.	Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Kings of Israel.	Prophets of Israel.	Contemporary Events.
	Jotham (king)	740			
		738	Pekahiah		
Isaiah 740-700		736	Pekah		
	Ahaz	735			
	Judah invaded by Pekah and Rezin	734			
Micah *c.* 735-725 (?)		732			Fall of Damascus
		731	Hoshea		
	Hezekiah	728			
		727			Shalmaneser IV. 727-722
		722	Fall of Samaria and end of the Northern Kingdom		Sargon 722-705
		720			Battle of Raphia
		711			Siege of Ashdod
		705			Sennacherib 705-681
	Sennacherib's invasion of Judah	701			
	Manasseh	697			
		681			Esarhaddon 681-668
		668			Assur-bani-pal 668-626
		c. 662			Sack of Thebes
	Amon	642			

Prophets of Judah.	Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Contemporary Events.
III. THE CHALDEAN PERIOD			
Nahum *c.* 640	Josiah	640	
	Commencement of Reformation	628	
Zephaniah *c.* 630-622		627	
	Reformation	622	
	Jehoahaz	609	Pharaoh-Necoh 609-594
Habakkuk *c.* 609-607	Jehoiakim	609	
		607	Fall of Nineveh
		605	Battle of Carchemish
	Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion of Judaea	601(?)	Nebuchadnezzar 604-562
Jeremiah 627-577	Jehoiachin Siege of Jerusalem: first deportation	597	
	Zedekiah	597	
		592	Pharaoh-Hophra 588-570
	Fall of Jerusalem: second deportation	586	
Ezekiel 592-570	Third deportation	581	
		577	
		570	
	Release of Jehoiachin	561	Evil Merodach

	B.C.	
	IV. THE RESTORATION	
	549	Cyrus conquers Astyages
Isaiah xl-lxvi *c.* 546-540	549-538	Conquests of Cyrus in W. Asia
	538	Capture of Babylon
	537	Return of the Exiles
	536	Foundation of the Temple
	529	Cambyses
	521	Pseudo-Smerdis
		Darius Hystaspes
Haggai 520	520	
Zechariah 520-518		
	516	Dedication of the Temple
	500	Ionian Revolt
	490	Marathon
	487	Revolt of Egypt
Zechariah ix-xiv (?)	485	Xerxes
Isaiah xxiv-xxvii (?)	480	Thermopylae and Salamis
	479	Plataea
	465	Artaxerxes I. Longimanus
	462-456	Revolt of Egypt
	458	Mission of Ezra
	445	Mission of Nehemiah
Malachi *c.* 435	433	Second Mission of Nehemiah
	425	Xerxes II

Note

The decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions has raised considerable difficulties in regard to the chronology of the eighth century B.C. The Assyrians had what the Hebrews had not, an exact system of chronology ; and if the decipherment of the inscriptions is to be trusted, account must be taken of the following dates. Jehu is mentioned as paying tribute to Assyria on the "black obelisk" of Shalmaneser II *c.* 842 ; Uzziah was still reigning *c.* 740 ; Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser in 738 ; the invasion of Judah by Pekah and Rezin took place in 734 ; Samaria fell in or about 722 ; Sennacherib's invasion of Judah took place in 701. No reconstruction of the chronology is free from considerable arbitrariness ; and the tables given here, which are derived from various sources, can only claim to offer a provisional and tentative solution. A few special points may be noticed. According to the revised chronology the fall of the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II was much more rapid than the Ussherian chronology given in the margin of the A.V. represents it to have been. The two interregnums of eleven years after the death of Jeroboam II, and nine years after the death of Pekah, which that chronology interpolates, have no support in the history and must certainly be struck out, reducing the period by twenty years. But further, if the length of Menahem's reign is rightly given as ten years, and he was still on the throne in 738, Jeroboam II must have reigned till 749 or even later, according to some chronologers as late as 741. At the most, less than thirty years, and possibly only twenty years, elapsed between his death and the capture of Samaria.

The Fall of Samaria is dated in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and the invasion of Sennacherib in his fourteenth year ; but obviously both dates cannot be right, if these

events happened in 722 and 701, as seems to be established from the Assyrian Inscriptions. I prefer to regard the first date as correct, so that the sixth year of Hezekiah = 722 ; and to suppose that the date of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah in 2 Kings xviii. 13 is misplaced, and should really refer to Hezekiah's illness, and not to Sennacherib's invasion. Hezekiah's life was prolonged fifteen years, and he reigned twenty-nine years, so that his illness would fall in his fourteenth year.

The chronology of the later period presents fewer difficulties. The dates given by different chronologers vary by a year or two, according as 588, 587, or 586 is taken for the date of the Fall of Jerusalem.

INDEX OF SOME PASSAGES COMMENTED ON

	PAGE
Ezra iii, iv	436
Nehemiah xiii. 6	512
Isaiah iv. 2	186
v. 25 ff.	159
vii. 14 ff.	188
ix. 1 ff.	191
xi. 1 ff.	193
xxviii-xxxi	164
lii. 13 ff.	395
lxi. 1 ff.	404
Hosea i. 10 ff.	141
i. 11	127
iii	120
xiii. 14	135
xiv	136
Joel ii. 23	77
Obadiah 12 ff.	39
Micah ii. 6	222
ii. 8	215
ii. 12, 13	218, 231
iv, v	232
v. 2-6	235
vi, vii	223, 233
Habakkuk ii. 4	277
iii	281 ff., 288
Haggai ii. 7	437
Zechariah iv	438
vi. 9 ff.	439
ix. 9, 10	463
ix. 13	476
xiv. 5	478
Malachi i. 11	509

GENERAL INDEX

Ahaz, 160
Amos, date, 84 ; contrasted with Hosea, 85, 137 ff. ; circumstances of the time, 86 ff. ; personal history, 90 ff. ; prophecies against nations, 93 ff. ; view of Israel's sins, 95 ff. ; attitude towards the calf-worship, 96 ; Jehovah's requirements, 99 ; promises of the restoration of Israel, 100, 103 ; theology, 100 ; allusions to history of Israel, 104 ; lessons of the book, 106 ; structure of the book, 107 ; names of God in, 108

Carchemish, battle of, 296
Christ the goal of prophecy, 519 ff. ; in His Person and offices, 521 ; in His teaching, 524 ; in His life and work, 525 ; in His kingdom, 527
Chronology, 536
Criticism of O.T., 21, 149
Cyrus, 356, 414

Day of Jehovah, 73, 98, 158, 263 ff., 474, 506, etc.

Exiles in Babylonia, their condition, 327 ; their character, 329, 366
Ezekiel, his history, 326 ; influence of his position on his work, 329 ff. ; methods of teaching, 331 ff. ; compared with Jeremiah, 334 ; arrangement of book, 335 ; importance of his work for his age, 337 ; principles of his teaching, 342 ff. ; doctrine of individual responsibility, 345 ; attitude towards ceremonial, 346 ; no mere formalist, 347
Ezra, 496

False prophets, 221, 305
Fulfilment of prophecy, 15 ff., 139, 197, 323, 349, 397, 406, 475, 519 ff., 528, etc.

Habakkuk, date, 271 ; contents of book, 274 ff. ; its lessons, 284 ; integrity and structure, 285 ; translation of ch. iii, 288
Haggai, circumstances of the time, 414 ff. ; his ministry, 422 ff. ; importance of his work, 430 ; universalism, 432 ; Messianic hope, 433
Hezekiah, 163
Holiness, 175 ff.
Holy One of Israel, 177 ff.
Hosea, date, 109 ff. ; circumstances of time, 112 ; a native of Ephraim, 117 ; his personal

history the key to his teaching, 119 ff.; the moral difficulty of his story, 121 ff.; view of Israel as Jehovah's wife, 125 ff., and son, 130; the covenant with Israel, 129 ff.; Jehovah's requirements, 131 f.; Israel's sins, 132 ff.; punishment, 134, and restoration, 135 ff.; Hosea contrasted with Amos, 85, 137 ff.; silent about the nations, 137; depth of his teaching, 138; analysis of the book, 141 ff.

ISAIAH, Book of, non-Isaianic portions, 148; structure of, 199 ff., 369 ff.

Isaiah the son of Amoz, raised up at a critical epoch, 143; modes of work, 145; call, 150; circumstances of time, 154 ff.; leading ideas of his theology, 171 ff., the majesty of Jehovah, 172 ff., and holiness of Jehovah, 175 ff.; the Holy One of Israel, 177 ff.; Messianic prophecies, 185 ff.; prophecies against the nations, 196 ff.; contrasted with Micah, 205 ff.

Isaiah of the Exile (xl-lxvi), date, 353 ff.; place of writing, 357; authorship, 358; style, 360; distinctive ideas, *ib.*; timeliness of the prophecy, 365; character of the exiles, 366 plan of the book, 369 ff.
theology of Isaiah xl-lxvi, 374 ff.; contrast between God and man, 375; between Jehovah and idols, 376; Jehovah's righteousness, 382; holiness, 383; name, 384; glory, *ib.*
the Servant of Jehovah, 385 ff.; eschatology, 400 ff.

Isaiah xxiv-xxvii, characteristics, 479; contents, 481 ff.; distinctive ideas, 485 ff.; authorship and date, 488 ff.; position and purpose, 491 ff.

JEHOAHAZ, 294

Jehoiachin, 297

Jehoiakim, 294

Jehovah, ix, 108; glory of, 171, 343, 384; majesty of, 172; holiness of, 175 ff., 344, 383; Name of, 344, 384; righteousness of, 382

Jeremiah, history of his times, 292 ff.; call, 301; character, 301; mission, 302; modes of work, 303; sufferings, 304 ff.; complaints, 306; a type of Christ, 309; his teaching, *ib.*; Israel's sins, 310 ff., and punishment, 314; predictions of restoration, 315 ff.; the Messianic king, 317; the regenerate city, 318; the new covenant, 319; the Presence of Jehovah, 320; doctrine of personal responsibility, *ib.*; destiny of the nations, 321; compared with Ezekiel, 334

Jeroboam II, 87 ff.

Joel, a native of Judah, 46; contents of book, 48 ff.; occasion, 51 ff.; allegorical interpretation discussed, 53 ff.; apocalyptic theory untenable, 55; date, 57 ff.; relation to Obadiah, 40; to Amos, 63; to Ezekiel, 66; to Zechariah xii-xiv, 71; teaching, 73 ff.; its limitations, 76

Josiah, 292

Jotham, 155

Judah, kingdom of, internal conditions under Jotham, 155 ff., 214; under Ahaz, 210, 216, 223 ff.; history and condition during last half-century of its existence, 239 ff., 262, 292 ff.

MALACHI, date, 500; personality, 503; contents of book, 504;

style, 507; zeal for the law, *ib.*; universalism, 508; Messianic prophecy, 510
Messianic prophecy in Amos, 103; Haggai, 432 ff.; Hosea, 139; Isaiah, 185 ff., 385 ff., 486 ff.; Jeremiah, 317 ff.; Malachi, 510; Micah, 217 ff.; Zechariah, 432 ff., 439 ff., 463 ff.; Zephaniah, 266
Micah, contrasted with Isaiah, 205; his home, 206; share in Hezekiah's reformation, 208; length of ministry, 210; message of judgement, 212, 217; its causes, 213; social sins, 214; prophecies of restoration, 217 ff.; Messianic prophecies, 217 ff.; conflict with false prophets, 221; popular and prophetic religion, 223; contents and integrity of book, 229 ff.

NAHUM, date, 244; place of writing, 248; contents of book, 251 ff.; teaching, 255 ff.; its limitations, 256; contrasted with Zephaniah, 258
National personality, 131
Nations, judgement of the, 76, etc.; moral responsibility of, 93; destiny of, 196 ff., 217 ff.; 266, 321, 400 ff., 432, 485 ff., 508, etc.
Nehemiah, 497; his governorships, 511
Nineveh, 249 ff.
Northern Kingdom, internal condition under Jeroboam, 88; after his death, 115 ff.; rapid decline of, 112 ff.

OBADIAH, contents of book, 33; occasion and date, 34; relation to Jeremiah, 35; to Joel and Amos, 40; teaching, 41; fulfilment, 43
Old Testament, to be studied as the record of the preparation for the Incarnation, 4 ff.; critically and historically, 12, 148 ff., 362; fulfilment of, 528; permanent value, 529

PRIESTLY type of the Messiah, 318, 429, 434, 439 ff.
Prophecy, the argument from, 7 ff.; fulfilment of, 15 ff., 519 ff., 528, etc.; limitations of, 76, 137, 255 ff.; circumstantial origin of, 12 ff., 359, 517; conditional character, 198, 408; perspective of, 198, 407; permanent significance of, 529
Prophets, their work, 13 ff.; chronological order of, 18 ff.; character and arrangement of books, 23 ff.; importance of studying, 26 ff.; to be studied historically, 29 ff.
Pul = Tiglath-Pileser, 111

Rabsaris, 168
Rabshakeh, 168
Return from Babylon, 415; its significance, 417

SCYTHIAN invasion, 240, 261
Servant of Jehovah, 385 ff.
Shalman, 112
Sheshbazzar, 435

Tartan, 168
Temple, its importance after the Return, 431

UZZIAH, 154

ZECHARIAH, circumstances of the time, 414 ff.; his ministry, 423 ff.; visions, 424 ff.; importance of his work, 430; universalism, 432; Messianic hope, 433
Zechariah ix-xiv, critical problems, 442; divisions, 443; date, 445 ff.; contents, 456 ff.; distinctive ideas, 463 ff.; the Messianic king, 463; the rejected

shepherd, 466 ; the penitent people, 471 ; the divine sovereignty, 473
importance of the book of Zechariah in Messianic prophecy, 435, 476
Zedekiah, 297
Zephaniah, contrasted with Nahum, 258 ; date, 259 ; occasion, 261 ; condition of Judah, 262 ; breadth of view, and depth of insight, 263 ff. ; future of the nations, 266
Zerubbabel, 435

THE END

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh*

A Catalogue

of

Theological Works

published by

Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

St. Martin's Street

London, W.C.

CONTENTS

THE BIBLE— PAGE

History of the Bible 3

Biblical History 3

The Old Testament 5

The New Testament 7

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH . . 14

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 15

DEVOTIONAL BOOKS 19

THE FATHERS 20

HYMNOLOGY 21

RELIGIOUS TEACHING 21

SERMONS, LECTURES, ADDRESSES, AND THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS 22

THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

The Bible

HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH. By Right Rev. Bishop WESTCOTT. 10th Edition. Pott 8vo. 4s. 6d.

BIBLICAL HISTORY

THE HOLY BIBLE. (Eversley Edition.) Arranged in Paragraphs, with an Introduction. By J. W. MACKAIL, M.A. 8 vols. Globe 8vo. 4s. net each.

Vol. I. Genesis—Numbers. II. Deuteronomy—2 Samuel. III. 1 Kings—Esther. IV. Job—Song of Solomon. V. Isaiah—Lamentations. VI. Ezekiel—Malachi. VII. Matthew—John. VIII. Acts—Revelation.

THE MODERN READER'S BIBLE. A Series of Books from the Sacred Scriptures presented in Modern Literary Form. The Text is that of the Revised Version. It is used by special permission of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge. Edited by R. G. MOULTON, M.A. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. each volume.

HISTORY SERIES, 6 volumes.—Genesis, The Exodus, Deuteronomy, The Judges, The Kings, The Chronicles.

POETRY SERIES, 3 volumes.—The Psalms and Lamentations, 2 vols. Biblical Idylls—Solomon's Song, Ruth, Esther, Tobit.

WISDOM SERIES, 4 volumes.—The Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Solomon, The Book of Job.

PROPHECY SERIES, 4 volumes.—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.

NEW TESTAMENT SERIES, 4 volumes.—St. Matthew and St. Mark and the General Epistles; The Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation of St. John. St. Luke and St. Paul, 2 vols.

INTRODUCTORY SERIES, 3 volumes.—Bible Stories (Old Testament), Bible Stories (New Testament), Select Masterpieces of Biblical Literature.

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.—"While the sacred text has in no way been tampered with, the books are presented in modern literary form and are furnished with an introduction and notes by Professor Richard G. Moulton. The notes are scholarly, and of real help to the student."

BIBLE LESSONS. By Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

SIDE-LIGHTS UPON BIBLE HISTORY. By Mrs. SYDNEY BUXTON. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 5s.

STORIES FROM THE BIBLE. By Rev. A. J. CHURCH. Illustrated. Two Series. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

BIBLE READINGS SELECTED FROM THE PENTATEUCH AND THE BOOK OF JOSHUA. By Rev. J. A. CROSS. 2nd Edition. Globe 8vo. 2s. 6d.

CHILDREN'S TREASURY OF BIBLE STORIES. By Mrs. H. GASKOIN. Pott 8vo. 1s. each. Part I. Old Testament; II. New Testament; III. Three Apostles.

THE NATIONS AROUND ISRAEL. By A. KEARY. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Biblical History—*continued.*

VILLAGE SERMONS. By Rev. F. J. A. Hort, D.D. 8vo. 6s.

This Volume contains a Series of Sermons dealing in a popular way with the successive Books of which the Bible is made up. They form an admirable introduction to the subject.

SERMONS ON THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE. (Selected from *Village Sermons.*) Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT ISRAEL. An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By the Rev. J. C. Todd, M.A. Cantab., Canon of St. Saviour's Cathedral, Natal. Crown 8vo. 6s.

The author writes from the standpoint of a frank acceptance of the results of Biblical criticism, and the necessity of restating the history in the light of modern research. His chief aim is to assist those who have been placed in a condition of uncertainty by the results of criticism, and to bring back the attention of intelligent men and women to the Scriptures as a source of spiritual instruction. Canon Todd in his work has assumed the main results of criticism, and while, for the most part, he has avoided the discussion of disputed points, he has in some details advanced views which have not hitherto been suggested.

HISTORY, PROPHECY, AND THE MONUMENTS, or, ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS. By Prof. J. F. M'Curdy. 3 Vols. 8vo. Vol. I. To the Downfall of Samaria. Vol. II. To the Fall of Nineveh. Vol. III. To the end of Exile (completing the work). 14s. net each.

TIMES.—"A learned treatise on the ancient history of the Semitic peoples as interpreted by the new light obtained from the modern study of their monuments."

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"The work is very able and very welcome. . . . It will take the place of all existing histories of these nations."

A CLASS-BOOK OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. By Rev. Canon Maclear. With Four Maps. Pott 8vo. 4s. 6d.

A CLASS-BOOK OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY. Including the connection of the Old and New Testament. By the same. Pott 8vo. 5s. 6d.

A SHILLING BOOK OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. By the same. Pott 8vo. 1s.

A SHILLING BOOK OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY. By the same. Pott 8vo. 1s.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME READING. Edited, with Comments and Reflections for the use of Jewish Parents and Children, by C. G. Montefiore. Part I. To the Second Visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. 2nd Edition. Extra Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net. Part II. Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with extracts from the Apocrypha. Extra Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d. net.

VOCAL AND LITERARY INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE. By S. S. Curry, Ph.D. Introduction by Francis G. Peabody, D.D. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

SCOTSMAN.—"The book, itself a cultured and erudite treatise upon a matter too often left to teachers of mere physical accomplishments, is further recommended by an introduction from the pen of an eminent American divine, Dr. Francis G. Peabody. It deserves the attention of every one interested in its subject."

THE OLD TESTAMENT

SCRIPTURE READINGS FOR SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES. By C. M. YONGE. Globe 8vo. 1s. 6d. each; also with comments, 3s. 6d. each.—First Series: GENESIS TO DEUTERONOMY.—Second Series: JOSHUA TO SOLOMON.—Third Series: KINGS AND THE PROPHETS.—Fourth Series: THE GOSPEL TIMES.—Fifth Series: APOSTOLIC TIMES.

THE DIVINE LIBRARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Its Origin, Preservation, Inspiration, and Permanent Value. By Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, B.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

TIMES.—"An eloquent and temperate plea for the critical study of the Scriptures."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"An excellent introduction to the modern view of the Old Testament. . . . The learned author is a genuine critic. . . . He expounds clearly what has been recently called the 'Analytic' treatment of the books of the Old Testament, and generally adopts its results. . . . The volume is admirably suited to fulfil its purpose of familiarising the minds of earnest Bible readers with the work which Biblical criticism is now doing."

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS. Warburtonian Lectures 1886-1890. By Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, B.D. 3rd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—"This volume gives us the result of ripe scholarship and competent learning in a very attractive form. It is written simply, clearly, and eloquently; and it invests the subject of which it treats with a vivid and vital interest which will commend it to the reader of general intelligence, as well as to those who are more especially occupied with such studies."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"Professor Kirkpatrick's book will be found of great value for purposes of study."

BOOKMAN.—"As a summary of the main results of recent investigation, and as a thoughtful appreciation of both the human and divine sides of the prophets' work and message, it is worth the attention of all Bible students."

THE PATRIARCHS AND LAWGIVERS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE PROPHETS AND KINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the same. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. An Essay on the Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. By the Right Rev. H. E. RYLE, Bishop of Winchester. 2nd Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

EXPOSITOR.—"Scholars are indebted to Professor Ryle for having given them for the first time a complete and trustworthy history of the Old Testament Canon."

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"He rightly claims that his book possesses that most English of virtues—it may be read throughout. . . . An extensive and minute research lies concealed under a most fresh and flexible English style."

THE MYTHS OF ISRAEL. THE ANCIENT BOOK OF GENESIS. WITH ANALYSIS AND EXPLANATION OF ITS COMPOSITION. By AMOS KIDDER FISKE, Author of "The Jewish Scriptures," etc. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF GENESIS. By the Right Rev. H. E. RYLE, Bishop of Winchester. Cr. 8vo. 3s. net.

PHILO AND HOLY SCRIPTURE, OR THE QUOTATIONS OF PHILO FROM THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. With Introduction and Notes by the Right Rev. H. E. RYLE, Bishop of Winchester. Cr. 8vo. 10s. net.

The Old Testament—*continued.*

In the present work the attempt has been made to collect, arrange in order, and for the first time print in full all the actual quotations from the books of the Old Testament to be found in Philo's writings, and a few of his paraphrases. For the purpose of giving general assistance to students Dr. Ryle has added footnotes, dealing principally with the text of Philo's quotations compared with that of the Septuagint; and in the introduction he has endeavoured to explain Philo's attitude towards Holy Scripture, and the character of the variations of his text from that of the Septuagint.

TIMES.—"This book will be found by students to be a very useful supplement and companion to the learned Dr. Drummond's important work, *Philo Judæus.*"

The Pentateuch—

AN HISTORICO-CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF THE HEXATEUCH (PENTATEUCH AND BOOK OF JOSHUA). By Prof. A. KUENEN. Translated by PHILIP H. WICKSTEED, M.A. 8vo. 14s.

The Psalms—

THE PSALMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED. An Amended Version, with Historical Introductions and Explanatory Notes. By Four Friends. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

SPECTATOR.—"One of the most instructive and valuable books that has been published for many years. It gives the Psalms a perfectly fresh setting, adds a new power of vision to the grandest poetry of nature ever produced, a new depth of lyrical pathos to the poetry of national joy, sorrow, and hope, and a new intensity of spiritual light to the divine subject of every ejaculation of praise and every invocation of want. We have given but imperfect illustrations of the new beauty and light which the translators pour upon the most perfect devotional poetry of any day or nation, and which they pour on it in almost every page, by the scholarship and perfect taste with which they have executed their work. We can only say that their version deserves to live long and to pass through many editions."

GOLDEN TREASURY PSALTER. The Student's Edition. Being an Edition with briefer Notes of "The Psalms Chronologically Arranged by Four Friends." Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE PSALMS. With Introductions and Critical Notes. By A. C. JENNINGS, M.A., and W. H. LOWE, M.A. In 2 vols. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. each.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. Edited with Comments and Reflections for the Use of Jewish Parents and Children. By C. G. MONTEFIORE. Crown 8vo. 1s. net.

THE PRAYER-BOOK PSALMS. Relieved of Obscurities, and made smoother for Chanting, with scarcely noticeable alteration. By the Rev. E. D. CREE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net.

Isaiah—

ISAIAH XL.—LXVI. With the Shorter Prophecies allied to it. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. With Notes. Crown 8vo. 5s.

A BIBLE-READING FOR SCHOOLS. The Great Prophecy of Israel's Restoration (Isaiah xl.-lxvi.) Arranged and Edited for Young Learners. By the same. 4th Edition. Pott 8vo. 1s.

Zechariah—

THE HEBREW STUDENT'S COMMENTARY ON ZECHARIAH, Hebrew and LXX. By W. H. LOWE, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE AKHMIM FRAGMENT OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST. PETER. By H. B. SWETE, D.D. 8vo. 5s. net.

THE PROGRESS OF DOCTRINE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: The Bampton Lectures, 1864. By Canon THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

HANDBOOK TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF NEW TESTAMENT. By F. G. KENYON, D.Litt., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. 8vo. 10s. net.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Eight Lectures. By Professor E. C. MOORE of Harvard University. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

THE RISE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY, B.D. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

IMMANUEL KANT.—"The Rise of the Bible as the people's book is the greatest blessing that the human race has ever experienced."

THE SOTERIOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By W. P. DU BOSE, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE MESSAGES OF THE BOOKS. Being Discourses and Notes on the Books of the New Testament. By Dean FARRAR. 8vo. 14s.

ON A FRESH REVISION OF THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT. With an Appendix on the last Petition of the Lord's Prayer. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

DISSERTATIONS ON THE APOSTOLIC AGE. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. 8vo. 14s.

BIBLICAL ESSAYS. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. 8vo. 12s.

THE UNITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By F. D. MAURICE. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES. By Right Rev. Bishop WESTCOTT. 7th Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE STUDENT'S LIFE OF JESUS. By G. H. GILBERT, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE STUDENT'S LIFE OF PAUL. By G. H. GILBERT, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE REVELATION OF JESUS: A Study of the Primary Sources of Christianity. By G. H. GILBERT, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE FIRST INTERPRETERS OF JESUS. By G. H. GILBERT, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

NEW TESTAMENT HANDBOOKS. Edited by SHAILER MATHEWS, Professor of New Test. Hist. at the University of Chicago.

A HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES IN PALESTINE (175 B.C.–70 A.D.). By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

A HISTORY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By EZRA P. GOULD, D.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

The New Testament—*continued.*

A HISTORY OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Prof. H. S. NASH. 3s. 6d. net.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By B. W. BACON, D.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By G. B. STEVENS, D.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK. The Text revised by Bishop WESTCOTT, D.D., and Prof. F. J. A. HORT, D.D. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. each.—Vol. I. Text; II. Introduction and Appendix.

Library Edition. 8vo. 10s. net. [*Text in Macmillan Greek Type.*

School Edition. 12mo, cloth, 4s. 6d.; roan, 5s. 6d.; morocco, 6s. 6d.; India Paper Edition, limp calf, 7s. 6d. net.

GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By W. J. HICKIE, M.A. Pott 8vo. 3s.

ACADEMY.—"We can cordially recommend this as a very handy little volume compiled on sound principles."

GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. By Prof. F. BLASS, University of Halle. Auth. English Trans. 8vo. 14s. net.

TIMES.—"Will probably become the standard book of reference for those students who enter upon minute grammatical study of the language of the New Testament."

THE GOSPELS—

PHILOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS. By Prof. F. BLASS. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

GUARDIAN.—"On the whole, Professor Blass's new book seems to us an important contribution to criticism. . . . It will stimulate inquiry, and will open up fresh lines of thought to any serious student."

THE SYRO-LATIN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS. By the Rev. FREDERIC HENRY CHASE, D.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The sequel of an essay by Dr. Chase on the old Syriac element in the text of Codex Bezae.

TIMES.—"An important and scholarly contribution to New Testament criticism."

SYNOPTICON: An Exposition of the Common Matter of the Synoptic Gospels. By W. G. RUSHBROOKE. Printed in Colours. 4to. 35s. net. Indispensable to a Theological Student.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE GOSPELS IN GREEK. With various Readings and Critical Notes. By the Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, B.D., Vice-President of Queens' College, Cambridge. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Demy 4to. 10s. net.

The difference between the first and second forms of this book is important, practical considerations having led to the enlargement of the original. Passages previously omitted are now included in brackets and printed in a distinctive type to indicate the foreign character of such accretions to the primitive text. Various readings have been added; so have also an introduction, many critical and a few grammatical notes. The author's primary object has been to make available all the facts relating to the text of the Gospels: he has, as a secondary proceeding, explained his own deduction from the construction which he himself puts on them—and this deduction points to an origin not in written but in oral tradition. The case for it is fully argued in the introduction.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. By Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT. Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Gospels—*continued.*

CAMBRIDGE REVIEW.—"The wonderful force and freshness which we find on every page of the book. There is no sign of hastiness. All seems to be the outcome of years of reverent thought, now brought to light in the clearest, most telling way. . . . The book will hardly go unchallenged by the different schools of thought, but all will agree in gratitude at least for its vigour and reality."

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. By Right Rev. Bishop WESTCOTT. 8th Ed. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

FOUR LECTURES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GOSPELS. By the Rev. J. H. WILKINSON, M.A., Rector of Stock Gaylard, Dorset. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

THE LEADING IDEAS OF THE GOSPELS. By W. ALEXANDER, D.D. Oxon., LL.D. Dublin, D.C.L. Oxon., Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Primate of All Ireland. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TWO LECTURES ON THE GOSPELS. By F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Gospel of St. Matthew—

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW. Greek Text as Revised by Bishop WESTCOTT and Dr. HORT. With Introduction and Notes by Rev. A. SLOMAN, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"It is sound and helpful, and the brief introduction on Hellenistic Greek is particularly good."

Gospel of St. Mark—

THE GREEK TEXT. With Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. 2nd Edition. 8vo. 15s.

TIMES.—"A learned and scholarly performance, up to date with the most recent advances in New Testament criticism."

THE EARLIEST GOSPEL. A Historico-Critical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark, with Text, Translation, and Introduction. By ALLAN MENZIES, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

SCHOOL READINGS IN THE GREEK TESTAMENT. Being the Outlines of the Life of our Lord as given by St. Mark, with additions from the Text of the other Evangelists. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by Rev. A. CALVERT, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Gospel of St. Luke—

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE. The Greek Text as Revised by Bishop WESTCOTT and Dr. HORT. With Introduction and Notes by Rev. J. BOND, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

GLASGOW HERALD.—"The notes are short and crisp—suggestive rather than exhaustive."

THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. A Course of Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. D. MAURICE. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE IN GREEK, AFTER THE WESTCOTT AND HORT TEXT. Edited, with Parallels, Illustrations, Various Readings, and Notes, by the Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A. Demy 4to. 7s. 6d. net.

The Gospels—*continued.*

ST. LUKE THE PROPHET. By EDWARD CARUS SELWYN, D.D. [Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

Gospel of St. John—

THE CENTRAL TEACHING OF CHRIST. Being a Study and Exposition of St. John, Chapters XIII. to XVII. By Rev. CANON BERNARD, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"Quite recently we have had an exposition by him whom many call the greatest expositor living. But Canon Bernard's work is still the work that will help the preacher most."

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By F. D. MAURICE. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ADDRESSES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By the late ARCHBISHOP BENSON. With an Introduction by ADELINE, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD. Super Royal 8vo. 21s. net.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1. By the Rev. Dr. CHASE, President of Queens' College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE OLD SYRIAC ELEMENT IN THE TEXT OF THE CODEX BEZAE. By the Rev. F. H. CHASE, D.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IN GREEK AND ENGLISH. With Notes by Rev. F. RENDALL, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"Mr. Rendall has given us a very useful as well as a very scholarly book."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"Mr. Rendall is a careful scholar and a thoughtful writer, and the student may learn a good deal from his commentary."

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By F. D. MAURICE. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Being the Greek Text as Revised by Bishop WESTCOTT and Dr. HORT. With Explanatory Notes by T. E. PAGE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. The Authorised Version, with Introduction and Notes, by T. E. PAGE, M.A., and Rev. A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

BRITISH WEEKLY.—"Mr. Page's Notes on the Greek Text of the Acts are very well known, and are decidedly scholarly and individual. . . . Mr. Page has written an introduction which is brief, scholarly, and suggestive."

THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST DAYS. THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM. THE CHURCH OF THE GENTILES. THE CHURCH OF THE WORLD. Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE EPISTLES—**The Epistles of St. Paul**—

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. The Greek Text, with English Notes. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. 7th Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. A New Translation by Rev. W. G. RUTHERFORD. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

PILOT.—"Small as the volume is, it has very much to say, not only to professed students of the New Testament, but also to the ordinary reader of the Bible. . . . The layman who buys the book will be grateful to one who helps him to realise that this perplexing Epistle 'was once a plain letter concerned with a theme which plain men might understand.'"

The Epistles of St. Paul—*continued.*

PROLEGOMENA TO ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE ROMANS AND THE EPHESIANS. By Rev. F. J. A. HORT. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Dr. MARCUS DODS in the *Bookman*.—"Anything from the pen of Dr. Hort is sure to be informative and suggestive, and the present publication bears his mark. . . . There is an air of originality about the whole discussion; the difficulties are candidly faced, and the explanations offered appeal to our sense of what is reasonable."

TIMES.—"Will be welcomed by all theologians as 'an invaluable contribution to the study of those Epistles' as the editor of the volume justly calls it."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"The lectures are an important contribution to the study of the famous Epistles of which they treat."

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. An Essay on its Destination and Date. By E. H. ASKWITH, D.D. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. 10th Edition. 8vo. 12s.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. The Greek Text with Notes. By the late Bishop WESTCOTT. [*In the Press.*

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. A Revised Text and Translation, with Exposition and Notes. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 8vo. 12s.

GUARDIAN.—"Although we have some good commentaries on Ephesians, . . . no one who has studied this Epistle would say that there was no need for further light and leading; and the present volume covers a good deal of ground which has not been covered, or not nearly so well covered, before."

CHURCH TIMES.—"We have no hesitation in saying that this volume will at once take its place as the standard commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. . . . We earnestly beg the clergy and intelligent laity to read and ponder over this most inspiring volume."

PILOT.—"We can scarcely give higher praise to Dr. Robinson's 'Ephesians' than that which is implied in the expression of our opinion that it is worthy of a place beside the commentaries of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Swete. And an exposition of this Epistle on the scale of their writings was much needed. . . . For soberness of judgment, accuracy of scholarship, largeness of view, and completeness of sympathy with the teaching of St. Paul, the work which is now in our hands leaves nothing to be desired. . . . A work which is in every way so excellent, and which in every page gives us a fresh insight into the meaning and purpose of what is, from at least one point of view, the greatest of St. Paul's Epistles."

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. 9th Edition. 8vo. 12s.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. With translation, Paraphrase, and Notes for English Readers. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. Crown 8vo. 5s.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS AND TO PHILEMON. A Revised Text, with Introductions, etc. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. 9th Edition. 8vo. 12s.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS. Analysis and Examination Notes. By Rev. G. W. GARROD. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESSALONIAN EPISTLES. By E. H. ASKWITH, D.D., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 4s. net.

The Epistles of St. Paul—*continued.*

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS. With Analysis and Notes by the Rev. G. W. GARROD, B.A. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS. With Analysis and Notes by Rev. G. W. GARROD. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS, THE COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON. With Introductions and Notes. By Rev. J. LL. DAVIES. 2nd Edition. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. For English Readers. Part I. containing the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. 2nd Edition. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. 6d.

NOTES ON EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL FROM UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARIES. By Bishop LIGHTFOOT, D.D. 8vo. 12s.

THE LETTERS OF ST. PAUL TO SEVEN CHURCHES AND THREE FRIENDS. Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

The Epistles of St. Peter—

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER, I. 1 to II. 17. The Greek Text, with Introductory Lecture, Commentary, and additional Notes. By the late F. J. A. HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. 8vo. 6s.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER (Greek Text). By J. HOWARD B. MASTERMAN, Principal of the Midland Clergy College, Edgbaston, Birmingham. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

The Epistle of St. James—

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes. By Rev. JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A. 2nd Edition. 8vo. 14s. net.

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"The most complete edition of St. James in the English language, and the most serviceable for the student of Greek."

BOOKMAN.—"Professor Mayor's volume in every part of it gives proof that no time or labour has been grudged in mastering this mass of literature, and that in appraising it he has exercised the sound judgment of a thoroughly trained scholar and critic. . . . The notes are uniformly characterised by thorough scholarship and unfailing sense. The notes resemble rather those of Lightfoot than those of Ellicott. . . . It is a pleasure to welcome a book which does credit to English learning, and which will take, and keep, a foremost place in Biblical literature."

SCOTSMAN.—"It is a work which sums up many others, and to any one who wishes to make a thorough study of the Epistle of St. James, it will prove indispensable."

EXPOSITOR (Dr. MARCUS DODS).—"Will long remain the commentary on St. James, a storehouse to which all subsequent students of the epistle must be indebted."

The Epistles of St. John—

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN. By F. D. MAURICE. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN. The Greek Text, with Notes. By Right Rev. Bishop WESTCOTT. 4th Edition. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

GUARDIAN.—"It contains a new or rather revised text, with careful critical remarks and helps; very copious footnotes on the text; and after each of the chapters, longer and more elaborate notes in treatment of leading or difficult questions, whether in respect of reading or theology. . . . Dr. Westcott has accumulated round them so much matter that, if not new, was forgotten, or generally unobserved, and has thrown so much light upon their language, theology, and characteristics. . . . The notes, critical,

The Epistle of St. John—*continued.*

illustrative, and exegetical, which are given beneath the text, are extraordinarily full and careful. . . . They exhibit the same minute analysis of every phrase and word, the same scrupulous weighing of every inflection and variation that characterised Dr. Westcott's commentary on the Gospel. . . . There is scarcely a syllable throughout the Epistles which is dismissed without having undergone the most anxious interrogation."

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"The more we examine this precious volume the more its exceeding richness in spiritual as well as in literary material grows upon the mind."

The Epistle to the Hebrews—

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS IN GREEK AND ENGLISH. With Notes. By Rev. F. RENDALL. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. English Text, with Commentary. By the same. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. With Notes. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

TIMES.—"The name and reputation of the Dean of Llandaff are a better recommendation than we can give of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the Greek text, with notes; an edition which represents the results of more than thirty years' experience in the training of students for ordination."

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. The Greek Text, with Notes and Essays. By Right Rev. Bishop WESTCOTT. 8vo. 14s.

GUARDIAN.—"In form this is a companion volume to that upon the Epistles of St. John. The type is excellent, the printing careful, the index thorough; and the volume contains a full introduction, followed by the Greek text, with a running commentary, and a number of additional notes on verbal and doctrinal points which needed fuller discussion. . . . His conception of inspiration is further illustrated by the treatment of the Old Testament in the Epistle, and the additional notes that bear on this point deserve very careful study. The spirit in which the student should approach the perplexing questions of Old Testament criticism could not be better described than it is in the last essay."

The Book of Revelations—

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices by the Rev. Professor H. B. SWETE, D.D. 8vo. [*In the Press.*

THE APOCALYPSE. A Study. By ARCHBISHOP BENSON. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE. By Rev. Prof. W. MILLIGAN. Crown 8vo. 5s.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE APOCALYPSE. By the same. Cr. 8vo. 5s.

SCOTSMAN.—"These discussions give an interesting and valuable account and criticism of the present state of theological opinion and research in connection with their subject."

SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.—"The great merit of the book is the patient and skilful way in which it has brought the whole discussion down to the present day. . . . The result is a volume which many will value highly, and which will not, we think, soon be superseded."

LECTURES ON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. 5th Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS AND THE PROPHETIC APOCALYPSE. By EDWARD CARUS SELWYN, D.D. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

THE BIBLE WORD-BOOK. By W. ALDIS WRIGHT, Litt.D., LL.D. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Christian Church, History of the

Cheetham (Archdeacon).—A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

TIMES.—"A brief but authoritative summary of early ecclesiastical history."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"Particularly clear in its exposition, systematic in its disposition and development, and as light and attractive in style as could reasonably be expected from the nature of the subject."

A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY. Crown 8vo. [*In the Press.*

Gwatkin (H. M.)—SELECTIONS FROM EARLY WRITERS Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine. 2nd Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

To this edition have been prefixed short accounts of the writers from whom the passages are selected.

Hardwick (Archdeacon).—A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Middle Age. Ed. by Bishop STUBBS. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE REFORMATION. Revised by Bishop STUBBS. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Hort (Dr. F. J. A.)—TWO DISSERTATIONS. I. On ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΣ in Scripture and Tradition. II. On the "Constantinopolitan" Creed and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

JUDAISTIC CHRISTIANITY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA. A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia, and Four Sermons. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Krüger (Dr. G.)—HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. Cr. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

Lowrie (W.)—CHRISTIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY: A HANDBOOK TO THE MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Oliphant (T. L. Kington)—ROME AND REFORM. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s. net.

Simpson (W.)—AN EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Sohm (Prof.)—OUTLINES OF CHURCH HISTORY. Translated by Miss MAY SINCLAIR. With a Preface by Prof. H. M. GWATKIN, M.A. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"It fully deserves the praise given to it by Professor Gwatkin (who contributes a preface to this translation) of being 'neither a meagre sketch nor a confused mass of facts, but a masterly outline,' and it really 'supplies a want,' as affording to the intelligent reader who has no time or interest in details, a connected general view of the whole vast field of ecclesiastical history."

Vaughan (Very Rev. C. J.).—THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST DAYS. THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM. THE CHURCH OF THE GENTILES. THE CHURCH OF THE WORLD. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Church of England

Catechism of—

CATECHISM AND CONFIRMATION. By Rev. J. C. P. ALDOUS. Pott 8vo. 1s. net.

THOSE HOLY MYSTERIES. By Rev. J. C. P. ALDOUS. Pott 8vo. 1s. net.

A CLASS-BOOK OF THE CATECHISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Rev. Canon MACLEAR. Pott 8vo. 1s. 6d.

A FIRST CLASS-BOOK OF THE CATECHISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, with Scripture Proofs for Junior Classes and Schools. By the same. Pott 8vo. 6d.

THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION, with Prayers and Devotions. By the Rev. Canon MACLEAR. 32mo. 6d.

NOTES FOR LECTURES ON CONFIRMATION. By the Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. Pott 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THE BAPTISMAL OFFICE AND THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION. By the Rev. F. PROCTER and the Rev. CANON MACLEAR. Pott 8vo. 6d.

Disestablishment—

DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT. What are they? By Prof. E. A. FREEMAN. 4th Edition. Crown 8vo. 1s.

A DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AGAINST DISESTABLISHMENT. By ROUNDELL, EARL OF SELBORNE. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

ANCIENT FACTS & FICTIONS CONCERNING CHURCHES AND TITHES. By the same. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A HANDBOOK ON WELSH CHURCH DEFENCE. By the Bishop of ST. ASAPH. 3rd Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Sewed, 6d.

Dissent in its Relation to—

DISSENT IN ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Rev. G. H. CURTEIS. Bampton Lectures for 1871. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

History of—

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Edited by the late DEAN STEPHENS and the Rev. W. HUNT, Litt.D. In Eight Volumes. Crown 8vo.

Vol. I. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRIOR TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By the Rev. W. HUNT. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. [*Ready.*

Vol. II. THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE CLOSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By DEAN STEPHENS. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. [*Ready.*

Vol. III. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES (1372-1486). By the Rev. CANON CAPES, sometime Reader of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. 7s. 6d. [*Ready.*

History—*continued.*

Vol. IV. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE DEATH OF MARY. By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D. 7s. 6d. [*Ready.*

Vol. VI. THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO THE DEATH OF ANNE. By the Rev. W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. 7s. 6d. [*Ready.*

In Preparation.

Vol. V. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I. By the Rev. W. H. FRERE.

Vol. VII. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. Canon OVERTON, D.D., and the Rev. F. RELTON.

Vol. VIII. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By F. W. CORNISH, M.A., Vice-Provost of Eton College.

THE STATE AND THE CHURCH. By the Hon. ARTHUR ELLIOT. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY. Compiled from Original Sources by HENRY GEE, B.D., F.S.A., and W. J. HARDY, F.S.A. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW.—"Will be welcomed alike by students and by a much wider circle of readers interested in the history of the Church of England. For the benefit of the latter all the Latin pieces have been translated into English. . . . It fully deserves the hearty imprimatur of the Bishop of Oxford prefixed to it."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"Students of the English Constitution as well as students of Church History will find this volume a valuable aid to their researches."

SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.—"There is no book in existence that contains so much original material likely to prove valuable to those who wish to investigate ritual or historical questions affecting the English Church."

Holy Communion—

THE COMMUNION SERVICE FROM THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, with Select Readings from the Writings of the Rev. F. D. MAURICE. Edited by Bishop COLENSO. 6th Edition. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

FIRST COMMUNION, with Prayers and Devotions for the newly Confirmed. By Rev. Canon MACLEAR. 32mo. 6d.

A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION FOR CONFIRMATION AND FIRST COMMUNION, with Prayers and Devotions. By the same. 32mo. 2s.

Liturgy—

A COMPANION TO THE LECTIONARY. By Rev. W. BENHAM, B.D. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CREEDS. By Rev. Canon MACLEAR. Pott 8vo. 3s. 6d.

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.—"Mr. Maclear's text-books of Bible history are so well known that to praise them is unnecessary. He has now added to them *An Introduction to the Creeds*, which we do not hesitate to call admirable. The book consists, first, of an historical introduction, occupying 53 pages, then an exposition of the twelve articles of the Creed extending to page 299, an appendix containing the texts of a considerable number of Creeds, and lastly, three indices which, as far as we have tested them, we must pronounce very good. . . . We may add that we know already that the book has been used with great advantage in ordinary parochial work."

Liturgy—*continued.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., and Rev. W. W. WILLIAMS. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The BISHOP OF SALISBURY at the Church Congress spoke of this as "a book which will doubtless have, as it deserves, large circulation."

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.—"Theological students and others will find this comprehensive yet concise volume most valuable."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"A valuable addition to the well-known series of Theological Manuals published by Messrs. Macmillan."

CHURCH TIMES.—"Those who are in any way responsible for the training of candidates for Holy Orders must often have felt the want of such a book as Dr. Maclear, with the assistance of his colleague, Mr. Williams, has just published."

NEW HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. With a rationale of its Offices on the basis of the former Work by FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. Revised and re-written by WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., Priest of the Community of the Resurrection. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

AN ELEMENTARY INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By Rev. F. PROCTER and Rev. Canon MACLEAR. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER-BOOK AND ORNAMENTS. With an Appendix of Documents. By HENRY GEE, D.D. Crown 8vo. 5s.

TWELVE DISCOURSES ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE LITURGY AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN. 4th Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Historical and Biographical—

THE ECCLESIASTICAL EXPANSION OF ENGLAND IN THE GROWTH OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION. Hulsean Lectures, 1894-95. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., formerly Bishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia and Tasmania. Crown 8vo. 6s.

The author's preface says: "The one object of these lectures—delivered on the Hulsean Foundation in 1894-95—is to make some slight contribution to that awakening of interest in the extraordinary religious mission of England which seems happily characteristic of the present time."

DAILY NEWS.—"These lectures are particularly interesting as containing the case for the Christian missions at a time when there is a disposition to attack them in some quarters."

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY. From St. Augustine to Juxon. By the Very Rev. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Dean of Chichester. Demy 8vo. The volumes sold separately as follows:—Vol. I., 15s.; Vol. II., 15s.; Vol. V., 15s.; Vols. VI. and VII., 30s.; Vol. VIII., 15s.; Vol. X., 15s.; Vol. XI., 15s.; Vol. XII., 15s.

ATHENÆUM.—"The most impartial, the most instructive, and the most interesting of histories."

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT REVEREND BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Durham. By his Son, the Rev. ARTHUR WESTCOTT. With Photogravure Portraits. 2 vols. Extra Crown 8vo. 17s. net.

Historical and Biographical—*continued.*

LIFE AND LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP BENSON. By his SON. Two Vols. 8vo. 36s. net.
Abridged Edition. In one Vol. 8s. 6d. net.

CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE: HER LIFE AND LETTERS. By CHRISTABEL COLERIDGE. With Portraits. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF AMBROSE PHILLIPPS DE LISLE. By E. S. PURCELL. Two Vols. 8vo. 25s. net.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. Twelve Years, 1833-45. By DEAN CHURCH. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF R. W. CHURCH, late Dean of St. Paul's. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

JAMES FRASER, SECOND BISHOP OF MANCHESTER. A Memoir. 1818-1885. By THOMAS HUGHES. 2nd Ed. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. By his Son, ARTHUR FENTON HORT, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two Vols. With Portrait. Ex. Cr. 8vo. 17s. net.

EXPOSITOR.—"It is only just to publish the life of a scholar at once so well known and so little known as Dr. Hort. . . . But all who appreciate his work wish to know more, and the two fascinating volumes edited by his son give us the information we seek. They reveal to us a man the very antipodes of a dry-as-dust pedant, a man with many interests and enthusiasms, a lover of the arts and of nature, an athlete and one of the founders of the Alpine Club, a man of restless mind but always at leisure for the demands of friendship, and finding his truest joy in his own home and family."

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. Chiefly told in his own letters. Edited by his Son, FREDERICK MAURICE. With Portraits. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.

MEMORIALS. (PART I.) FAMILY AND PERSONAL, 1766-1865. By ROUNDELL, EARL OF SELBORNE. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two Vols. 8vo. 25s. net. (PART II.) PERSONAL AND POLITICAL, 1865-1895. Two Vols. 25s. net.

LIFE OF ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON and WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. With Portraits. 3rd Edition. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 10s. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM JOHN BUTLER, late Dean of Lincoln, sometime Vicar of Wantage. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

TIMES.—"We have a graphic picture of a strong personality, and the example of a useful and laborious life. . . . Well put together and exceedingly interesting to Churchmen."

IN THE COURT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Read and others *v.* The Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Judgment, Nov. 21, 1890. 2nd Edition. 8vo. 2s. net.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY ON RESERVATION OF THE SACRAMENT. Lambeth Palace, May 1, 1900. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

Historical and Biographical—*continued.*

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK ON RESERVATION OF SACRAMENT. Lambeth Palace, May 1, 1900. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES. Quarterly. 3s. 6d. net. (No. 1, October 1899.) Yearly volumes, 14s. net.

CANTERBURY DIOCESAN GAZETTE. Monthly. 8vo. 2d.

JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Edited by I. ABRAHAMS and C. G. MONTEFIORE. Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d. Vols. 1-7, 12s. 6d. each. Vol. 8 onwards, 15s. each. (Annual Subscription, 11s.)

Devotional Books

Cornish (J. F.)—WEEK BY WEEK. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SPECTATOR.—"They are very terse and excellent verses, generally on the subject of either the Epistle or Gospel for the day, and are put with the kind of practical vigour which arrests attention and compels the conscience to face boldly some leading thought in the passage selected."

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"The studied simplicity of Mr. Cornish's verse is altogether opposed to what most hymn-writers consider to be poetry. Nor is this the only merit of his unpretentious volume. There is a tonic character in the exhortation and admonition that characterise the hymns, and the prevailing sentiment is thoroughly manly and rousing."

Eastlake (Lady).—FELLOWSHIP: LETTERS ADDRESSED TO MY SISTER-MOURNERS. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

ATHENÆUM.—"Tender and unobtrusive, and the author thoroughly realises the sorrow of those she addresses; it may soothe mourning readers, and can by no means aggravate or jar upon their feelings."

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.—"A very touching and at the same time a very sensible book. It breathes throughout the truest Christian spirit."

NONCONFORMIST.—"A beautiful little volume, written with genuine feeling, good taste, and a right appreciation of the teaching of Scripture relative to sorrow and suffering."

IMITATIO CHRISTI, LIBRI IV. Printed in Borders after Holbein, Dürer, and other old Masters, containing Dances of Death, Acts of Mercy, Emblems, etc. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Keble (J.)—THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Edited by C. M. YONGE. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Kingsley (Charles).—OUT OF THE DEEP: WORDS FOR THE SORROWFUL. From the writings of CHARLES KINGSLEY. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

DAILY THOUGHTS. Selected from the Writings of CHARLES KINGSLEY. By his Wife. Crown 8vo. 6s.

FROM DEATH TO LIFE. Fragments of Teaching to a Village Congregation. With Letters on the "Life after Death." Edited by his Wife. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Maclear (Rev. Canon).—A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION FOR CONFIRMATION AND FIRST COMMUNION, WITH PRAYERS AND DEVOTIONS. 32mo. 2s.

THE HOUR OF SORROW; OR, THE OFFICE FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD. 32mo. 2s.

Maurice (Frederick Denison).—LESSONS OF HOPE. Readings from the Works of F. D. MAURICE. Selected by Rev. J. Ll. DAVIES, M.A. Crown 8vo. 5s.

THE COMMUNION SERVICE. From the Book of Common Prayer, with select readings from the writings of the Rev. F. D. MAURICE, M.A. Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D., Lord Bishop of Natal. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

THE WORSHIP OF GOD, AND FELLOWSHIP AMONG MEN. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE and others. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

RAYS OF SUNLIGHT FOR DARK DAYS. With a Preface by Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. New Edition. Pott 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Welby-Gregory (The Hon. Lady).—LINKS AND CLUES. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Westcott (Bishop).—THOUGHTS ON REVELATION AND LIFE. Selections from the Writings of Bishop WESTCOTT. Edited by Rev. S. PHILLIPS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

The Fathers

INDEX OF NOTEWORTHY WORDS AND PHRASES FOUND IN THE CLEMENTINE WRITINGS, COMMONLY CALLED THE HOMILIES OF CLEMENT. 8vo. 5s.

Benson (Archbishop).—CYPRIAN: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES, HIS WORK. By the late EDWARD WHITE BENSON, Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. 21s. net.

TIMES.—"In all essential respects, in sobriety of judgment and temper, in sympathetic insight into character, in firm grasp of historical and ecclesiastical issues, in scholarship and erudition, the finished work is worthy of its subject and worthy of its author. . . . In its main outlines full of dramatic insight and force, and in its details full of the fruits of ripe learning, sound judgment, a lofty Christian temper, and a mature ecclesiastical wisdom."

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"On the whole, and with all reservations which can possibly be made, this weighty volume is a contribution to criticism and learning on which we can but congratulate the Anglican Church. We wish more of her bishops were capable or desirous of descending into that arena of pure intellect from which Dr. Benson returns with these posthumous laurels."

Gwatkin (H. M.)—SELECTIONS FROM EARLY WRITERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF CHURCH HISTORY TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

Hort (Dr. F. J. A.)—SIX LECTURES ON THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

TIMES.—"Though certainly popular in form and treatment they are so in the best sense of the words, and they bear throughout the impress of the ripe scholarship, the rare critical acumen, and the lofty ethical temper which marked all Dr. Hort's work."

NOTES ON CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Hort (Dr. F. J. A.) and **Mayor** (J. B.).—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA: MISCELLANIES (STROMATEIS). Book VII. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Dissertations, and Indices. 8vo. 15s. net.

Krüger (G.).—HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

Lightfoot (Bishop).—THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Part I. ST. CLEMENT OF ROME. Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Part II. ST. IGNATIUS to ST. POLYCARP. Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. 3 vols. 2nd Edition. Demy 8vo. 48s.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Abridged Edition. With Short Introductions, Greek Text, and English Translation. 8vo. 16s.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"A conspectus of these early and intensely interesting Christian 'Documents' such as had not hitherto been attainable, and thereby renders a priceless service to all serious students of Christian theology, and even of Roman history."

NATIONAL OBSERVER.—"From the account of its contents, the student may appreciate the value of this last work of a great scholar, and its helpfulness as an aid to an intelligent examination of the earliest post-Apostolic writers. The texts are constructed on the most careful collation of all the existing sources. The introductions are brief, lucid, and thoroughly explanatory of the historical and critical questions related to the texts. The introduction to the *Didache*, and the translation of the 'Church Manual of Early Christianity,' are peculiarly interesting, as giving at once an admirable version of it, and the opinion of the first of English biblical critics on the latest discovery in patristic literature."

Hymnology

Bernard (Canon T. D.)—THE SONGS OF THE HOLY NATIVITY. Being Studies of the Benedictus, Magnificat, Gloria in Excelsis, and Nunc Dimittis. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Brooke (Stopford A.)—CHRISTIAN HYMNS. Edited and arranged. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Selborne (Roundell, Earl of)—

THE BOOK OF PRAISE. From the best English Hymn Writers. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

A HYMNAL. Chiefly from *The Book of Praise.* In various sizes. B. Pott 8vo, larger type. 1s.—C. Same Edition, fine paper. 1s. 6d.—An Edition with Music, Selected, Harmonised, and Composed by JOHN HULLAH. Pott 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Smith (Horace).—HYMNS AND PSALMS. Ex. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Woods (M. A.)—HYMNS FOR SCHOOL WORSHIP. Compiled by M. A. WOODS. Pott 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Religious Teaching

Bell (Rev. G. C.)—RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. For Teachers and Parents. Suggestions as to Lessons on the Bible, Early Church History, Christian Evidences, etc. By the Rev. G. C. BELL, M.A., Master of Marlborough College. 2nd Edition. With new chapter on Christian Ethic. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Bell (Rev. G. C.)—*continued.*

GUARDIAN.—"The hints and suggestions given are admirable, and, as far as Bible teaching or instruction in 'Christian Evidences' is concerned, leave nothing to be desired. Much time and thought has evidently been devoted by the writer to the difficulties which confront the teacher of the Old Testament, and a large portion of the volume is taken up with the consideration of this branch of his subject."

EDUCATIONAL REVIEW.—"For those teachers who are dissatisfied with the existing state of things, and who are striving after something better, this little handbook is invaluable. Its aim is 'to map out a course of instruction on practical lines, and to suggest methods and books which may point the way to a higher standpoint and a wider horizon.' For the carrying out of this, and also for his criticism of prevailing methods, all teachers owe Mr. Bell a debt of gratitude; and if any are roused to a due sense of their responsibility in this matter, he will feel that his book has not been written in vain."

Gilbert (Dr. G. H.)—A PRIMER OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. Based on the Teaching of Jesus, its Founder and Living Lord. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

Sermons, Lectures, Addresses, and Theological Essays

(*See also* '*Bible*,' '*Church of England*,' '*Fathers*')

Abbey (Rev. C. J.)—THE DIVINE LOVE: ITS STERNNESS, BREADTH, AND TENDERNESS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

GUARDIAN.—"This is a book which, in our opinion, demands the most serious and earnest attention."

Abbott (Rev. Dr. E. A.)—
CAMBRIDGE SERMONS. 8vo. 6s.
OXFORD SERMONS. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Abrahams (I.)—**Montefiore** (C. G.)—ASPECTS OF JUDAISM. Being Eighteen Sermons. 2nd Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

TIMES.—"There is a great deal in them that does not appeal to Jews alone, for, especially in Mr. Montefiore's addresses, the doctrines advocated, with much charm of style, are often not by any means exclusively Jewish, but such as are shared and honoured by all who care for religion and morality as those terms are commonly understood in the western world."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"Both from the homiletic and what may be called the big-world point of view, this little volume is one of considerable interest."

Ainger (Rev. Alfred).—SERMONS PREACHED IN THE TEMPLE CHURCH. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Askwith (E. H.)—THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF HOLINESS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE SPECTATOR.—"A well-reasoned and really noble view of the essential purpose of the Christian revelation. . . . We hope that Mr. Askwith's work will be widely read."

Bather (Archdeacon).—ON SOME MINISTERIAL DUTIES, CATECHISING, PREACHING, ETC. Edited, with a Preface, by Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Beeching (Rev. Canon H. C.)—INNS OF COURT SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Benson (Archbishop)—
BOY-LIFE: its Trial, its Strength, its Fulness. Sundays in Wellington College, 1859-73. 4th Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Benson (Archbishop)—*continued.*

CHRIST AND HIS TIMES. Addressed to the Diocese of Canterbury in his Second Visitation. Crown 8vo. 6s.

FISHERS OF MEN. Addressed to the Diocese of Canterbury in his Third Visitation. Crown 8vo. 6s.

GUARDIAN.—"There is plenty of plain speaking in the addresses before us, and they contain many wise and thoughtful counsels on subjects of the day."

TIMES.—"With keen insight and sagacious counsel, the Archbishop surveys the condition and prospects of the church."

ARCHBISHOP BENSON IN IRELAND. A record of his Irish Sermons and Addresses. Edited by J. H. BERNARD. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—"No words of mine could appreciate, or do justice to, the stately language and lofty thoughts of the late Primate; they will appeal to every Churchman."

Bernard (Canon T. D.).—THE SONGS OF THE HOLY NATIVITY CONSIDERED (1) AS RECORDED IN SCRIPTURE, (2) AS IN USE IN THE CHURCH. Crown 8vo. 5s.

To use the words of its author, this book is offered "to readers of Scripture as expository of a distinct portion of the Holy Word; to worshippers in the congregation as a devotional commentary on the hymns which they use; to those keeping Christmas, as a contribution to the ever-welcome thoughts of that blessed season; to all Christian people who, in the midst of the historical elaboration of Christianity, find it good to re-enter from time to time the clear atmosphere of its origin, and are fain in the heat of the day to recover some feeling of the freshness of dawn."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"He conveys much useful information in a scholarly way."

SCOTSMAN.—"Their meaning and their relationships, the reasons why the Church has adopted them, and many other kindred points, are touched upon in the book with so well-explained a learning and with so much insight that the book will be highly valued by those interested in its subject."

Brooke (Rev. Stopford A.)—SHORT SERMONS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Brooks (Phillips, late Bishop of Massachusetts)—

THE CANDLE OF THE LORD, and other Sermons. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ENGLISH CHURCHES. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TWENTY SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES, RELIGIOUS, LITERARY, AND SOCIAL. Edited by the Rev. JOHN COTTON BROOKS. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

NEW STARTS IN LIFE, AND OTHER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.—"All characterised by that fervent piety, catholicity of spirit, and fine command of language for which the Bishop was famous."

THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE. Lenten Readings. Royal 16mo. 5s.

THE LAW OF GROWTH, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—"All instinct with the piety, breadth of mind, and eloquence which have given Phillips Brooks' pulpit prolocutions their rare distinction among productions of this kind, that of being really and truly suitable for more Sundays than one."

GLOBE.—"So manly in outlook and so fresh and suggestive in treatment."

Brooks (Phillips, late Bishop of Massachusetts)—*continued.*

THE INFLUENCE OF JESUS. The Bohlen Lectures, 1879. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LECTURES ON PREACHING DELIVERED AT YALE COLLEGE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE PHILLIPS BROOKS YEAR BOOK. Selections from the Writings of Bishop Phillips Brooks. By H. L. S. and L. H. S. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF PHILLIPS BROOKS. By A. V. G. ALLEN. 3 vols. 8vo. 30s. net.

Brunton (Sir T. Lauder). — THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Campbell (Dr. John M'Leod)—

THE NATURE OF THE ATONEMENT. 6th Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

THOUGHTS ON REVELATION. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GIFT OF ETERNAL LIFE. Compiled from Sermons preached at Row, in the years 1829-31. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Carpenter (W. Boyd, Bishop of Ripon)—

TRUTH IN TALE. Addresses, chiefly to Children. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

THE PERMANENT ELEMENTS OF RELIGION: Bampton Lectures, 1887. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TWILIGHT DREAMS. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

LECTURES ON PREACHING. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

TIMES.—"These *Lectures on Preaching*, delivered a year ago in the Divinity School at Cambridge, are an admirable analysis of the intellectual, ethical, spiritual, and rhetorical characteristics of the art of preaching. In six lectures the Bishop deals successfully with the preacher and his training, with the sermon and its structure, with the preacher and his age, and with the aim of the preacher. In each case he is practical, suggestive, eminently stimulating, and often eloquent, not with the mere splendour of rhetoric, but with the happy faculty of saying the right thing in well-chosen words."

SOME THOUGHTS ON CHRISTIAN REUNION. Being a Charge to the Clergy. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

TIMES.—"Dr. Boyd Carpenter treats this very difficult subject with moderation and good sense, and with a clear-headed perception of the limits which inexorably circumscribe the natural aspirations of Christians of different churches and nationalities for a more intimate communion and fellowship."

LEEDS MERCURY.—"He discusses with characteristic vigour and felicity the claims which hinder reunion, and the true idea and scope of catholicity."

Chase (Rev. Dr. F. H.).—THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT IN OUR LORD'S EARTHLY LIFE IN RELATION TO HISTORICAL METHODS OF STUDY. 8vo. Sewed. 1s.

Cheetham (Archdeacon). — MYSTERIES, PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1896. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Church (Dean)—

HUMAN LIFE AND ITS CONDITIONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE GIFTS OF CIVILISATION, and other Sermons and Lectures. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Church (Dean)—*continued.*

DISCIPLINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

ADVENT SERMONS. 1885. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

VILLAGE SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

VILLAGE SERMONS. Second Series. Crown 8vo. 6s.

VILLAGE SERMONS. Third Series. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—"In these sermons we see how a singularly gifted and cultivated mind was able to communicate its thoughts on the highest subjects to those with whom it might be supposed to have little in common. . . . His village sermons are not the by-work of one whose interests were elsewhere in higher matters. They are the outcome of his deepest interests and of the life of his choice. . . . These sermons are worth perusal if only to show what preaching, even to the humble and unlearned hearers, may be made in really competent hands."

CATHEDRAL AND UNIVERSITY SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

PASCAL AND OTHER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—"They are all eminently characteristic of one of the most saintly of modern divines, and one of the most scholarly of modern men of letters."

SPECTATOR.—"Dean Church's seem to us the finest sermons published since Newman's, even Dr. Liddon's rich and eloquent discourses not excepted,—and they breathe more of the spirit of perfect peace than even Newman's. They cannot be called High Church or Broad Church, much less Low Church sermons; they are simply the sermons of a good scholar, a great thinker, and a firm and serene Christian."

CLERGYMAN'S SELF-EXAMINATION CONCERNING THE APOSTLES' CREED. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Congreve (Rev. John).—HIGH HOPES AND PLEADINGS FOR A REASONABLE FAITH, NOBLER THOUGHTS, LARGER CHARITY. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Davidson (Archbishop)—

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF ROCHESTER, October 29, 30, 31, 1894. 8vo. Sewed. 2s. net.

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER, Sept. 28, 30, Oct. 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1899. 8vo. Sewed. 2s. 6d. net.

Davies (Rev. J. Llewelyn)—

THE GOSPEL AND MODERN LIFE. 2nd Edition, to which is added Morality according to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

WARNINGS AGAINST SUPERSTITION. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE CHRISTIAN CALLING. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, AND THE LORD'S SUPPER, as interpreted by their Outward Signs. Three Addresses. New Edition. Pott 8vo. 1s.

ORDER AND GROWTH AS INVOLVED IN THE SPIRITUAL CONSTITUTION OF HUMAN SOCIETY. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

GLASGOW HERALD.—"This is a wise and suggestive book, touching upon many of the more interesting questions of the present day. . . . A book as full of hope as it is of ability."

Davies (Rev. J. Llewelyn)—*continued.*

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"He says what he means, but never more than he means; and hence his words carry weight with many to whom the ordinary sermon would appeal in vain. . . . The whole book is well worth study."

ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS.—"An able discussion of the true basis and aim of social progress."

SCOTSMAN.—"Thoughtful and suggestive."

SPIRITUAL APPREHENSION: Sermons and Papers. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Davies (W.)—THE PILGRIM OF THE INFINITE. A Discourse addressed to Advanced Religious Thinkers on Christian Lines. By WM. DAVIES. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

CHRISTIAN WORLD.—"We hail this work as one which in an age of much mental unrest sounds a note of faith which appeals confidently to the highest intellect, inasmuch as it springs out of the clearest intuitions of the human spirit."

Donehoo (J. de Quincey)—THE APOCRYPHAL AND LEGENDARY LIFE OF CHRIST. Being the Whole Body of the Apocryphal Gospels and other Extra Canonical Literature which pretends to tell of the Life and Words of Jesus Christ, including much Matter which has not before appeared in English. In continuous Narrative Form, with Notes, Scriptural References, Prolegomena, and Indices. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Ellerton (Rev. John).—THE HOLIEST MANHOOD, AND ITS LESSONS FOR BUSY LIVES. Crown 8vo. 6s.

English Theological Library. Edited by Rev. FREDERIC RELTON. With General Introduction by the late BISHOP CREIGHTON. A Series of Texts Annotated for the Use of Students, Candidates for Ordination, etc. 8vo.

Re-issue at Reduced Prices.

I. HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, Book V., Edited by Rev. Ronald E. Bayne. 10s. 6d. net.

II. LAW'S SERIOUS CALL, Edited by Rev. Canon J. H. Overton. 4s. 6d. net.

DAILY NEWS.—"A well-executed reprint. . . . Canon Overton's notes are not numerous, and are as a rule very interesting and useful."

CAMBRIDGE REVIEW.—"A welcome reprint. . . . All that it should be in paper and appearance, and the reputation of the editor is a guarantee for the accuracy and fairness of the notes."

III. WILSON'S MAXIMS, Edited by Rev. F. Relton. 3s. 6d. net.

GUARDIAN.—"Many readers will feel grateful to Mr. Relton for this edition of Bishop Wilson's 'Maxims.' . . . Mr. Relton's edition will be found well worth possessing: it is pleasant to the eye, and bears legible marks of industry and study."

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"In an introduction of some twenty pages, he tells us all we need to know of Bishop Wilson and of his maxims. Then he gives us the maxims themselves in most perfect form, and schools himself to add at the bottom of the page such notes as are absolutely necessary to their understanding, and nothing more."

IV. THE WORKS OF BISHOP BUTLER. Vol. I. Sermons, Charges, Fragments, and Correspondence. Vol. II. The Analogy of Religion, and two brief dissertations: I. Of Personal Identity. II. Of the Nature of Virtue. Edited by the Very Rev. J. H. BERNARD, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. 4s. 6d. net each.

English Theological Library—*continued.*

THE PILOT.—"One could hardly desire a better working edition than this which Dr. Bernard has given us. . . . Sure to become the standard edition for students."
THE SPECTATOR.—"An excellent piece of work."

V. THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM LAUD AND MR. FISHER, THE JESUIT. Edited by Rev. C. H. SIMPKINSON, M.A. Author of *The Life of Archbishop Laud.* [4s. 6d. net.

Everett (Dr. C. C.)—THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS FAITH. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

EVIL AND EVOLUTION. An attempt to turn the Light of Modern Science on to the Ancient Mystery of Evil. By the author of *The Social Horizon.* Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"The book is well worth the interest it is almost certain to excite."
CHURCH TIMES.—"There can be no question about the courage or the keen logic and the lucid style of this fascinating treatment of a problem which is of pathetic interest to all of us. . . . It deserves to be studied by all, and no one who reads it can fail to be struck by it."

FAITH AND CONDUCT: An Essay on Verifiable Religion. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

FAITH OF A CHRISTIAN, THE. By a Disciple. Crown 8vo. [*In the Press.*

Farrar (Very Rev. F. W., late Dean of Canterbury)—

THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION. Being the Bampton Lectures, 1885. 8vo. 16s.

Collected Edition of the Sermons, etc. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

SEEKERS AFTER GOD.
ETERNAL HOPE. Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey.
THE FALL OF MAN, and other Sermons.
THE WITNESS OF HISTORY TO CHRIST. Hulsean Lectures.
THE SILENCE AND VOICES OF GOD.
IN THE DAYS OF THY YOUTH. Sermons on Practical Subjects.
SAINTLY WORKERS. Five Lenten Lectures.
EPHPHATHA: or, The Amelioration of the World.
MERCY AND JUDGMENT. A few words on Christian Eschatology.
SERMONS AND ADDRESSES delivered in America.

Fiske (John).—MAN'S DESTINY VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF HIS ORIGIN. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LIFE EVERLASTING. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Foxell (W. J.)—GOD'S GARDEN: Sunday Talks with Boys. With an Introduction by Dean FARRAR. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SPEAKER.—"Deals with obvious problems of faith and conduct in a strain of vigorous simplicity, and with an evident knowledge of the needs, the moods, the difficulties of boy-life. It is the kind of book which instils lessons of courage, trust, patience, and forbearance; and does so quite as much by example as by precept."

IN A PLAIN PATH. Addresses to Boys. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SPEAKER.—"He handles with admirable vigour, and real discernment of a boy's difficulties, such high themes as the use of time, noble revenge, the true gentleman, the noblest victory, and progress through failure. There is nothing childish in the method of treatment, and yet we feel sure that a man who spoke to a congregation of lads in this fashion would not talk over the head of the youngest, and yet find his way to the hearts of those who are just passing from the restraints of school to the responsibilities of life."

Fraser (Bishop).—UNIVERSITY SERMONS. Edited by Rev. JOHN W. DIGGLE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Goodspeed (G. S.)—ISRAEL'S MESSIANIC HOPE TO THE TIME OF JESUS: A Study in the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings of the Christ in the Old Testament and beyond. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Grane (W. L.)—THE WORD AND THE WAY: or, The Light of the Ages on the Path of To-Day. Crown 8vo. 6s.

HARD SAYINGS OF JESUS CHRIST. A Study in the Mind and Method of the Master. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Green (S. G.)—THE CHRISTIAN CREED AND THE CREEDS OF CHRISTENDOM. Seven Lectures delivered in 1898 at Regent's Park College. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Harcourt (Sir W. V.)—LAWLESSNESS IN THE NATIONAL CHURCH. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

Hardwick (Archdeacon).—CHRIST AND OTHER MASTERS. 6th Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Hare (Julius Charles).—THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER. New Edition. Edited by Dean PLUMPTRE. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Harris (Rev. G. C.)—SERMONS. With a Memoir by CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, and Portrait. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Headlam (Rev. A. C.)—THE SOURCES AND AUTHORITY OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. Being an Inaugural Lecture delivered by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

GUARDIAN.—"A learned and valuable vindication of the place of dogmati theology by a scholar trained in historical and critical methods."

Henson (Canon H. H.)—SERMON ON THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

SINCERITY AND SUBSCRIPTION. A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England. Globe 8vo. 1s. net.

Hicks (Rev. Canon E. L.)—ADDRESSES ON THE TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

Hillis (N. D.)—THE INFLUENCE OF CHRIST IN MODERN LIFE. A Study of the New Problems of the Church in American Society. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE QUEST OF HAPPINESS. A Study of Victory over Life's Troubles. Extra crown 8vo. 6s. net.

Hilty (Carl).—HAPPINESS: Essays on the Meaning of Life. Translated by Professor F. G. PEABODY. Crown 8vo. 4s. net.

Hodgkins (Louise M.)—VIA CHRISTI: An Introduction to the Study of Missions. Globe 8vo. 2s. net. Sewed. 1s. 3d. net.

Hort (Dr. F. J. A.)—THE WAY, THE TRUTH, THE LIFE. Hulsean Lectures, 1871. Crown 8vo. 6s.

CAMBRIDGE REVIEW.—"Only to few is it given to scan the wide fields of truth with clear vision of near and far alike. To what an extraordinary degree the late Dr.

Hort (Dr. F. J. A.)—*continued.*

Hort possessed this power is shown by the Hulsean Lectures just published. They carry us in the most wonderful way to the very centre of the Christian system; no aspect of truth, no part of the world, seems to be left out of view; while in every page we recognise the gathered fruits of a rare scholarship in the service of an unwearying thought."

JUDAISTIC CHRISTIANITY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—"The great merit of Dr. Hort's lectures is that succinctly and yet fully, and in a clear and interesting and suggestive manner, they give us not only his own opinions, but whatever of worth has been advanced on the subject."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"Will receive a respectful welcome at the hands of all biblical scholars. . . . A model of exact and patient scholarship, controlled by robust English sagacity, and it is safe to say that it will take a high place in the literature of the subject."

VILLAGE SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Selected from the Sermons preached by Professor HORT to his village congregation at St. Ippolyt's, and including a series of Sermons dealing in a broad and suggestive way with the successive books of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelations.

SERMONS ON THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE (selected from *Village Sermons*). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

VILLAGE SERMONS IN OUTLINE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

CONTENTS: I. The Prayer Book, 16 Sermons. II. Baptism, 5 Sermons. III. Mutual Subjection the Rule of Life (Eph. v. 21), 6 Sermons. IV. The Sermon on the Mount (St. Matt. v. 1; vii. 29), 11 Sermons. V. Advent, 4 Sermons. VI. The Armour of the Cross. VII. The Resurrection, 7 Sermons.

CAMBRIDGE AND OTHER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Hughes (T.)—THE MANLINESS OF CHRIST. 2nd Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

GLOBE.—"*The Manliness of Christ* is a species of lay sermon such as Judge Hughes is well qualified to deliver, seeing that manliness of thought and feeling has been the prevailing characteristic of all his literary products."

BRITISH WEEKLY.—"A new edition of a strong book."

Hutton (R. H.)—

ESSAYS ON SOME OF THE MODERN GUIDES OF ENGLISH THOUGHT IN MATTERS OF FAITH. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT. Selected from the *Spectator*, and edited by E. M. ROSCOE. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

Hyde (W. DE W.)—OUTLINES OF SOCIAL THEOLOGY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Dr. Hyde thus describes the object of his book: "This little book aims to point out the logical relations in which the doctrines of theology will stand to each other when the time shall come again for seeing Christian truth in the light of reason and Christian life as the embodiment of love."

PRACTICAL IDEALISM. Globe 8vo. 5s. net.

Illingworth (Rev. J. R.)—SERMONS PREACHED IN A COLLEGE CHAPEL. Crown 8vo. 5s.

UNIVERSITY AND CATHEDRAL SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Illingworth (Rev. J. R.)—*continued.*

PERSONALITY, DIVINE AND HUMAN. Bampton Lectures, 1894. Crown 8vo. 6s. Also 8vo. Sewed. 6d.

TIMES.—"Will take high rank among the rare theological masterpieces produced by that celebrated foundation."

EXPOSITOR.—"It is difficult to convey an adequate impression of the freshness and strength of the whole argument. . . . It is a book which no one can be satisfied with reading once; it is to be studied."

DIVINE IMMANENCE. An Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter. New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.—"A very valuable book. . . . *Divine Immanence* is likely to prove of great service to Christian truth. It combines, to a remarkable extent, profound thought and clear expression. It is throughout written in an interesting style."

GUARDIAN.—"Altogether, we have rarely read a book of such philosophical earnestness in construing the Christian view of existence in terms of the thought and knowledge of these days, nor one more likely to bring home the knowledge of a Saviour to the modern man."

REASON AND REVELATION. An Essay in Christian Apology. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Jacob (Rev. J. A.)—BUILDING IN SILENCE, and other Sermons. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Jacob (Rev. J. T.).—CHRIST THE INDWELLER. Cr. 8vo. 5s.

Jellett (Rev. Dr.)—

THE ELDER SON, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Joceline (E.)—THE MOTHER'S LEGACIE TO HER UNBORN CHILD. Cr. 16mo. 4s. 6d.

Jones (Jenkin Lloyd)—

JESS: BITS OF WAYSIDE GOSPEL. Crown 8vo. 6s.

A SEARCH FOR AN INFIDEL: BITS OF WAYSIDE GOSPEL. Second Series. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Joseph (Rev. Morris).—JUDAISM AS CREED AND LIFE. Extra Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

The view of Judaism set forth in this work lies midway between the orthodoxy which regards the Shulchan Aruch, or at least the Talmud, as the final authority in Judaism, and the extreme liberalism which would lightly cut the religion loose from the bonds of tradition. The present volume, then, may fairly lay claim to novelty. Almost all the expositions of Judaism which have hitherto appeared in England have been written from the rigidly conservative standpoint, but thus far no attempt has been made to elucidate systematically the intermediate position, and to give a comprehensive account of Jewish belief and practice as they are conceived by men of moderate views.

Kellogg (Rev. S. H.)—

THE GENESIS AND GROWTH OF RELIGION. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—"Full of matter of an important kind, set forth with praiseworthy conciseness, and at the same time with admirable lucidity. . . . Dr. Kellogg has done the work allotted to him with great ability, and everywhere manifests a competent acquaintance with the subject with which he deals."

King (Prof. H. C.)—RECONSTRUCTION IN THEOLOGY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

Kingsley (Charles)—

VILLAGE AND TOWN AND COUNTRY SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE WATER OF LIFE, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SERMONS ON NATIONAL SUBJECTS, AND THE KING OF THE EARTH. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SERMONS FOR THE TIMES. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

GOOD NEWS OF GOD. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL OF THE PENTATEUCH, AND DAVID. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

DISCIPLINE, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

WESTMINSTER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

ALL SAINTS' DAY, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

ACADEMY.—"We can imagine nothing more appropriate than this edition for a public, a school, or even a village library."

Kirkpatrick (Prof. A. F.)—THE DIVINE LIBRARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Its Origin, Preservation, Inspiration, and Permanent Value. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS. Warburtonian Lectures 1886-1890. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Knight (W. A.)—ASPECTS OF THEISM. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

LETTERS FROM HELL. Newly translated from the Danish. With an Introduction by Dr. GEORGE MACDONALD. Twenty-eighth Thousand. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Lightfoot (Bishop)—

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY. Reprinted from *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

LEADERS IN THE NORTHERN CHURCH: Sermons Preached in the Diocese of Durham. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ORDINATION ADDRESSES AND COUNSELS TO CLERGY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

CAMBRIDGE SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SERMONS PREACHED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM, 25th Nov. 1886. Demy 8vo. 2s.

ESSAYS ON THE WORK ENTITLED "Supernatural Religion." 8vo. Re-issue at 6s. net.

DISSERTATIONS ON THE APOSTOLIC AGE. 8vo. 14s.

BIBLICAL ESSAYS. 8vo. 12s.

TIMES.—"As representing all that is now available of the Bishop's profound learning and consummate scholarship for the illustration of his great subject, the present volume and its successor will be warmly welcomed by all students of theology."

Lillingston (Frank, M.A.)—THE BRAMO SAMAJ AND ARYA SAMAJ IN THEIR BEARING UPON CHRISTIANITY. A Study in Indian Theism. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Macmillan (Rev. Hugh)—

BIBLE TEACHINGS IN NATURE. 15th Ed. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE TRUE VINE; OR, THE ANALOGIES OF OUR LORD'S ALLEGORY. 5th Edition. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE MINISTRY OF NATURE. 8th Edition. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE SABBATH OF THE FIELDS. 6th Edition. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE MARRIAGE IN CANA. Globe 8vo. 6s.

TWO WORLDS ARE OURS. 3rd Edition. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE OLIVE LEAF. Globe 8vo. 6s.

THE GATE BEAUTIFUL AND OTHER BIBLE TEACHINGS FOR THE YOUNG. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SPEAKER.—"These addresses are, in fact, models of their kind—wise, reverent, and not less imaginative than practical; they abound in choice and apposite anecdotes and illustrations, and possess distinct literary merit."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"The poetic touch that beautifies all Dr. Macmillan's writing is fresh in every one of these charming addresses. The volume is sure to meet with cordial appreciation far beyond the sphere of its origin."

GLEANINGS IN HOLY FIELDS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE CORN OF HEAVEN. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Mahaffy (Rev. Prof.)—THE DECAY OF MODERN PREACHING: AN ESSAY. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Marshall (H. Rutgers)—INSTINCT AND REASON: An Essay with some Special Study of the Nature of Religion. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Mason (Caroline A.)—LUX CHRISTI. An Outline Study of India—A Twilight Land. Crown 8vo. 2s. net.

Mathews (S.).—THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF JESUS: AN ESSAY IN CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Maurice (Frederick Denison)—

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST. 3rd Ed. 2 Vols. Cr. 8vo. 7s.

THE CONSCIENCE. Lectures on Casuistry. 3rd Ed. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

DIALOGUES ON FAMILY WORSHIP. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRIFICE DEDUCED FROM THE SCRIPTURES. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. 6th Edition. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

ON THE SABBATH DAY; THE CHARACTER OF THE WARRIOR; AND ON THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

LEARNING AND WORKING. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, THE CREED, AND THE COMMANDMENTS. Pott 8vo. 1s.

Collected Works. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

SERMONS PREACHED IN LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL. In Six Volumes. 3s. 6d. each.

Maurice (F. D.)—*continued.*

Collected Works—*continued.*

SERMONS PREACHED IN COUNTRY CHURCHES.
CHRISTMAS DAY AND OTHER SERMONS.
THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS.
PROPHETS AND KINGS.
PATRIARCHS AND LAWGIVERS.
THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.
GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.
EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.
FRIENDSHIP OF BOOKS.
PRAYER BOOK AND LORD'S PRAYER.
THE DOCTRINE OF SACRIFICE.
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHURCH TIMES.—"There is probably no writer of the present century to whom the English Church owes a deeper debt of gratitude. . . . Probably he did more to stop the stream of converts to Romanism which followed the secession of Newman than any other individual, by teaching English Churchmen to think out the reasonableness of their position."

SPEAKER.—"These sermons are marked in a conspicuous degree by high thinking and plain statement."

TIMES.—"A volume of sermons for which the memory of Maurice's unique personal influence ought to secure a cordial reception."

SCOTSMAN.—"They appear in a volume uniform with the recent collective edition of Maurice's works, and will be welcome to the many readers to whom that edition has brought home the teaching of the most popular among modern English divines."

Medley (Rev. W.)—CHRIST THE TRUTH. Being the Angus Lectures for the year 1900. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Milligan (Rev. Prof. W.)—THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

SPECTATOR.—"The argument is put with brevity and force by Dr. Milligan, and every page bears witness that he has mastered the literature of the subject, and has made a special study of the more recent discussions on this aspect of the question. . . . The remaining lectures are more theological. They abound in striking views, in fresh and vigorous exegesis, and manifest a keen apprehension of the bearing of the fact of the Resurrection on many important questions of theology. The notes are able and scholarly, and elucidate the teaching of the text."

THE ASCENSION AND HEAVENLY PRIESTHOOD OF OUR LORD. *Baird Lectures*, 1891. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Montefiore (Claude G.)—LIBERAL JUDAISM. An Essay. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

Moorhouse (Bishop)—

JACOB: Three Sermons. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
THE TEACHING OF CHRIST. Its Conditions, Secret, and Results. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.
DANGERS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.
CHURCH WORK: ITS MEANS AND METHODS. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

CHURCH TIMES.—"It may almost be said to mark an epoch, and to inaugurate a new era in the history of Episcopal visitation."

Moorhouse (Bishop)—*continued.*

TIMES.—"A series of diocesan addresses, full of practical counsel, by one of the most active and sagacious of modern prelates."

GLOBE.—"Throughout the volume we note the presence of the wisdom that comes from long and varied experience, from sympathy, and from the possession of a fair and tolerant mind."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"Full of interest and instruction for all who take an interest in social and moral, to say nothing of ecclesiastical, reforms, and deserves to find careful students far beyond the limits of those to whom it was originally addressed."

Myers (F. W. H.)—SCIENCE AND A FUTURE LIFE. Gl. 8vo. 4s. net.

Nash (H. S.).—GENESIS OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—"The book is eloquently, and at times brilliantly, written. . . . But few readers could go through it without being inspired by its clever and animated handling of philosophical ideas."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"An interesting and suggestive little book."

Pattison (Mark).—SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Peabody (Prof. F. G.)—JESUS CHRIST AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE RELIGION OF AN EDUCATED MAN. Crown 8vo. Gilt top. 4s. 6d. net.

This little volume, by the well-known Harvard Professor, treats the subject under the following main heads:—Religion as Education; The Message of Christ to the Scholar; and Knowledge and Service.

PEPLOGRAPHIA DVBLINENSIS. Memorial Discourses Preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, 1895-1902. With Preface by the Very Rev. J. H. BERNARD, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

PHILOCHRISTUS. Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord. 3rd Ed. 8vo. 12s.

Picton (J. Allanson).—THE RELIGION OF THE UNIVERSE. 8vo. [*In the Press.*

Pike (G. R.)—THE DIVINE DRAMA THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION OF GOD IN THE UNIVERSE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Plumptre (Dean).—MOVEMENTS IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

PRO CHRISTO ET ECCLESIA. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. Gilt top. 4s. 6d. net.

BOOKMAN.—"It is not only its anonymity which suggests comparison with *Ecce Homo*. The subject is the same in both books—the method and aim of Jesus—though treated from quite different points of view; and the level of thought is much the same; the easy originality that cuts a new section through the life of Christ and shows us strata before unthought of; the classic severity of the style, the penetrating knowledge of human nature, the catholicity of treatment, all remind us of Professor Seeley's captivating work.'

Purchas (Rev. H. T.)—JOHANNINE PROBLEMS AND MODERN NEEDS. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

Rendall (Rev. F.)—THE THEOLOGY OF THE HEBREW CHRISTIANS. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Ridding (George, Bishop of Southwell).—THE REVEL AND THE BATTLE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—"Singularly well worth reading."
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"Marked by dignity and force."

Robinson (Prebendary H. G.)—MAN IN THE IMAGE OF GOD, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Robinson (Dean J. A.)—UNITY IN CHRIST AND OTHER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Rutherford (Rev. Dr. W. G.)—THE KEY OF KNOWLEDGE. Sermons preached to Westminster Boys in the Abbey. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Seeley (Sir J. R.)—ECCE HOMO: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ. Globe 8vo. 4s. net. Also 8vo. Sewed. 6d.

NATURAL RELIGION. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

ATHENÆUM.—"If it be the function of a genius to interpret the age to itself, this is a work of genius. It gives articulate expression to the higher strivings of the time. It puts plainly the problem of these latter days, and so far contributes to its solution; a positive solution it scarcely claims to supply. No such important contribution to the question of the time has been published in England since the appearance in 1866 of *Ecce Homo*. . . . The author is a teacher whose words it is well to listen to; his words are wise but sad; it has not been given him to fire them with faith, but only to light them with reason. His readers may at least thank him for the intellectual illumination, if they cannot owe him gratitude for any added favour. . . . A book which we assume will be read by most thinking Englishmen."
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"The present issue is a compact, handy, well-printed edition of a thoughtful and remarkable book."

Selborne (Roundell, Earl of).—LETTERS TO HIS SON ON RELIGION. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Service (Rev. John).—SERMONS. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Smith (A. H.).—REX CHRISTUS. An Outline Study of China. Globe 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Stanley (Dean)—

THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING. Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Stewart (Prof. Balfour) and **Tait** (Prof. P. G.)—THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE; OR, PHYSICAL SPECULATIONS ON A FUTURE STATE. 15th Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Stubbs (Dean)—

CHRISTUS IMPERATOR. A Series of Lecture-Sermons on the Universal Empire of Christianity. Edited by Very Rev. C. W. STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. Crown 8vo. 6s.

The discourses included in this volume were delivered in 1893 in the Chapel-of-Ease to the Parish Church of Wavertree—at that time the

Stubbs (Dean)—*continued.*

centre of much excellent social work done by Mr. Stubbs, who had not yet been promoted to the Deanery of Ely. The following are the subjects and the preachers:—The Supremacy of Christ in all Realms: by the Very Rev. Charles Stubbs, D.D., Dean of Ely.—Christ in the Realm of History: by the Very Rev. G. W. Kitchin, D.D., Dean of Durham.—Christ in the Realm of Philosophy: by the Rev. R. E. Bartlett, M.A., Bampton Lecturer in 1888.—Christ in the Realm of Law: by the Rev. J. B. Heard, M.A., Hulsean Lecturer in 1893.—Christ in the Realm of Art: by the Rev. Canon Rawnsley, M.A., Vicar of Crosthwaite.—Christ in the Realm of Ethics: by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, D.D., Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, and Chaplain to the Queen.—Christ in the Realm of Politics: by the Rev. and Hon. W. H. Freemantle, M.A., Canon of Canterbury.—Christ in the Realm of Science: by the Rev. Brooke Lambert, B.C.L., Vicar of Greenwich.—Christ in the Realm of Sociology: by the Rev. S. A. Barnett, M.A., Warden of Toynbee Hall, and Canon of Bristol.—Christ in the Realm of Poetry: by the Very Rev. Charles Stubbs, D.D., Dean of Ely.

SCOTSMAN.—"Their prelections will be found stimulating and instructive in a high degree. The volume deserves recognition as a courageous attempt to give to Christianity its rightful place and power in the lives of its professors."

Talbot (Bishop).—A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF ROCHESTER, October 24, 25, and 26, 1899. 8vo. Sewed. 2s. net.

THE CHURCH'S FAILURES AND THE WORK OF CHRIST. A Charge addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese at his Second Visitation in the Ninth Year of his Episcopate and in the Year of Our Lord 1903. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

DAILY NEWS.—"A little book that will be read with interest by all who are concerned in the same problem here considered—the relation of Christianity as an active inspiration of common life to such masses of toiling populations as are represented by the millions of South London."

Temple (Archbishop)—

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF RUGBY SCHOOL. Extra Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

SECOND SERIES. 3rd Ed. 6s.

THIRD SERIES. 4th Edition. 6s.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE. Bampton Lectures, 1884. New Impression, 1903. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

CHARGE DELIVERED AT HIS FIRST VISITATION. 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

(1) The Doctrine of the Eucharist; (2) The Practice of Confession; (3) Uniformity in Ceremonial; (4) The Power of the Bishops.

FIVE OF THE LATEST UTTERANCES OF FREDERICK TEMPLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Crown 8vo. 1s. net.

Thackeray (H. St. John).—THE RELATION OF ST. PAUL TO CONTEMPORARY JEWISH THOUGHT. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TO THOSE WHO SUFFER. A Heart of Compassion. Crown 8vo. Sewed. 1s. net.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—"We have rarely met so slim a volume more full of suggestive and helpful thoughts. . . . A true, a beautiful book; and we trust the modest way it is ushered into the world will not prevent it obtaining the attention and recognition it deserves."

Trench (Archbishop).—HULSEAN LECTURES. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Tymms (Rev. Dr. T. V.)—THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF ATONEMENT. Angus Lectures. Crown 8vo. [*In the Press.*

Vaughan (Dean)—

MEMORIALS OF HARROW SUNDAYS. 5th Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

HEROES OF FAITH. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LIFE'S WORK AND GOD'S DISCIPLINE. 3rd Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE WHOLESOME WORDS OF JESUS CHRIST. 2nd Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

FOES OF FAITH. 2nd Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

COUNSELS FOR YOUNG STUDENTS. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE TWO GREAT TEMPTATIONS. 2nd Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

ADDRESSES FOR YOUNG CLERGYMEN. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

"MY SON, GIVE ME THINE HEART." Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

TEMPLE SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

AUTHORISED OR REVISED? Sermons on some of the Texts in which the Revised Version differs from the Authorised. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LESSONS OF THE CROSS AND PASSION. WORDS FROM THE CROSS. THE REIGN OF SIN. THE LORD'S PRAYER. Four Courses of Lent Lectures. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

UNIVERSITY SERMONS. NEW AND OLD. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

NOTES FOR LECTURES ON CONFIRMATION. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THE PRAYERS OF JESUS CHRIST: a closing volume of Lent Lectures delivered in the Temple Church. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.

DONCASTER SERMONS. Lessons of Life and Godliness, and Words from the Gospels. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

RESTFUL THOUGHTS IN RESTLESS TIMES. Cr. 8vo. 5s.

LAST WORDS IN THE TEMPLE CHURCH. Globe 8vo. 5s.

SATURDAY REVIEW.—"These discourses in thought, in style, have so much that is permanent and fine about them that they will stand the ordeal of being read by any serious man, even though he never heard Dr. Vaughan speak."

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—"As specimens of pure and rhythmical English prose, rising here and there to flights of sober and chastened eloquence, yet withal breathing throughout an earnest and devotional spirit, these sermons would be hard to match."

SCOTSMAN.—"All are marked by the earnestness, scholarship, and strength of thought which invariably characterised the pulpit utterances of the preacher."

Vaughan (Rev. D. J.)—THE PRESENT TRIAL OF FAITH. Crown 8vo. 5s.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY, SOCIAL, NATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS. Crown 8vo. 5s.

NATIONAL OBSERVER.—"In discussing *Questions of the Day* Mr. D. J. Vaughan speaks with candour, ability, and common sense."

SCOTSMAN.—"They form an altogether admirable collection of vigorous and thoughtful pronouncements on a variety of social, national, and religious topics."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"A volume such as this is the best reply to those friends of the people who are for ever complaining that the clergy waste their time preaching antiquated dogma and personal salvation, and neglect the weightier matters of the law."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"He speaks boldly as well as thoughtfully, and what he has to say is always worthy of attention."

EXPOSITORY TIMES.—"Most of them are social, and these are the most interesting. And one feature of peculiar interest is that in those sermons which were preached twenty years ago Canon Vaughan saw the questions of to-day, and suggested the remedies we are beginning to apply."

Vaughan (Canon E. T.)—SOME REASONS OF OUR CHRISTIAN HOPE. Hulsean Lectures for 1875. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Venn (Dr. John).—ON SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF BELIEF, SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Welldon (Bishop).—THE SPIRITUAL LIFE, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTTISH LEADER.—"In a strain of quiet, persuasive eloquence, Bishop Welldon treats impressively of various aspects of the higher life. His discourses cannot fail both to enrich the heart and stimulate the mind of the earnest reader."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"They are cultured, reverent, and thoughtful productions."

THE REVELATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"I LIVE": BEING HINTS ON THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE STATE. An Essay. Crown 8vo. 2s. net.

Westcott (Bishop)—

ON THE RELIGIOUS OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITIES. Sermons. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

GIFTS FOR MINISTRY. Addresses to Candidates for Ordination. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THE VICTORY OF THE CROSS. Sermons preached during Holy Week, 1888, in Hereford Cathedral. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH. Three Sermons (In Memoriam J. B. D.) Crown 8vo. 2s.

THE REVELATION OF THE RISEN LORD. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

THE HISTORIC FAITH. 3rd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE GOSPEL OF THE RESURRECTION. 6th Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

THE REVELATION OF THE FATHER. Crown 8vo. 6s.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Westcott (Bishop)—*continued.*

SOME THOUGHTS FROM THE ORDINAL. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE WEST. Globe 8vo. 4s. net.

THE GOSPEL OF LIFE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE INCARNATION AND COMMON LIFE. Crown 8vo. 9s.

TIMES.—"A collection of sermons which possess, among other merits, the rare one of actuality, reflecting, as they frequently do, the Bishop's well-known and eager interest in social problems of the day."

CHRISTIAN ASPECTS OF LIFE. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

CHURCH TIMES.—"We heartily commend this volume to the notice of our readers. . . . The Church of England is not likely to lose touch with the people of this country so long as she is guided by Bishops who show such a truly large-hearted sympathy with everything human as is here manifested by the present occupier of the see of Durham."

LITERATURE.—"A sermon of the national day of rest, and some attractive personal reminiscences of school days under James Prince Lee, are among the choicest parts of the volume, if we are to single out any portions from a work of dignified and valuable utterance."

DAILY NEWS.—"Through every page . . . runs the same enlightened sympathy with the living world. One forgets the Bishop in the Man, the Ecclesiastic in the Citizen, the Churchman in the Christian."

THE OBLIGATIONS OF EMPIRE. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. 3d. net.

LESSONS FROM WORK. CHARGES AND ADDRESSES. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO MINERS, July 1901. Crown 8vo. Sewed. 6d.

WORDS OF FAITH AND HOPE. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION ADDRESSES. Crown 8vo. 1s. net.

COMMON PRAYERS FOR FAMILY USE. Crown 8vo. 1s. net.

White (A. D.)—A HISTORY OF THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY IN CHRISTENDOM. In Two Vols. 8vo. 21s. net.

TIMES.—"Is certainly one of the most comprehensive, and, in our judgment, one of the most valuable historical works that have appeared for many years. . . . He has chosen a large subject, but it is at least one which has clear and definite limits, and he has treated it very fully and comprehensively in two moderate volumes. . . . His book appears to us to be based on much original research, on an enormous amount of careful, accurate, and varied reading, and his habit of appending to each section a list of the chief books, both ancient and modern, relating to it will be very useful to serious students. He has decided opinions, but he always writes temperately, and with transparent truthfulness of intention."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"The story of the struggle of searchers after truth with the organised forces of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition is the most inspiring chapter in the whole history of mankind. That story has never been better told than by the ex-President of Cornell University in these two volumes."

Whiton (Dr. J. M.)—MIRACLES AND SUPERNATURAL RELIGION. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. net.

Wickham (Very Rev. Dean).—WELLINGTON COLLEGE SERMONS. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Wilkins (Prof. A. S.)—THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD: an Essay. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Wilson (Archdeacon)—

SERMONS PREACHED IN CLIFTON COLLEGE CHAPEL. Second Series. 1888-90. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

GUARDIAN.—"We heartily welcome a new edition of Archdeacon Wilson's *Essays and Addresses.*"

SPEAKER.—"We are glad to welcome a new edition of the Archdeacon of Manchester's *Essays and Addresses.* . . . These addresses are manly, straightforward, and sagacious; and they are, moreover, pervaded with a deep sense of responsibility and unfailing enthusiasm."

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF OUR TIME. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE GOSPEL OF THE ATONEMENT. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1898. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SPEAKER.—"This volume deserves a cordial welcome, and will reward a careful study. It is marked by a candour and courage, a sincerity and liberality of spirit, which prove very attractive."

OXFORD MAGAZINE.—"They contain a good deal of strong thought and delicate expression."

SPECTATOR.—"A notable pronouncement."

TWO SERMONS ON THE MUTUAL INFLUENCES OF THEOLOGY AND THE NATURAL SCIENCES. 8vo. Sewed. 6d. net.

SIX LECTURES ON PASTORAL THEOLOGY. With an Appendix on the Influence of Scientific Training on the Reception of Religious Truth. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

PROBLEMS OF RELIGION AND SCIENCE. 8vo. Sewed. 6d.

Wood (C. J.)—SURVIVALS IN CHRISTIANITY. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—"Striking, stimulating and suggestive lectures. . . . The author writes with the boldness and conviction of a mystic; he brings wide reading to bear upon every branch of his subject, and his book is impressive and interesting throughout."

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

C.5.3.04.

~~1.55~~
0

BS1505
.K5
1901
Kirkpatrick
Doctrine of the prophets
8308

DATE	ISSUED TO
N 17 '43	Wm. Olson
D 15 '43	C. Bauman
MAY 5 '43	

Return this book on or before the last date stamped below 8308

N 17 '43	MAR 20		
D 15 '43	MAY 9		
7/25 DEC 5 1950			
FEB 10 1954			
MAR 3 1954			
AUG 4 1954			
JAN 3			
NOV 30			
FEB 27			

Library Bureau Cat. no. 1174

BS1505
.K5
8308